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ulus bringing the Twins, Romulus & Remus, to Acca Laurentia, who afterwards nursed them as her own.

Page 9.

THE

HISTORY

OF

O M E,

FROM

OUNDATION OF THE CITY

TILL

INATION OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE.

VILLIAM MAVOR, LL. D.

URLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAP-
TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES.

VOL. I.

RICHARD PHILLIPS, 71, ST. PAUL'
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THE ROMAN HISTORY.

CHAP. I.

The Ancient State of Italy to the Building of Rome.

FEW countries of the globe possess more natural advantages than Italy, and none have been more celebrated in history. Though its former splendor is no more, it still presents a most interesting picture to the contemplation of surrounding nations. Blest in general with a happy soil, with a benign climate, and a variety of choice productions, it in some measure deserved to be the mistress of the world. Here the grape ripens in the vicinity of the olive; and under the mulberry tree where the silk-worm spins her precious web, the sheep also yield their fleece to the hand of the shearer. The fruits are abundant and delicious; and though in some districts the scorching heats destroy the verdure, and in others the severity of the frost nips the blossom, the air in far the greatest part is salubrious, and the temperature mild.

In ancient times Italy was known by the d
ferent appellations of Saturnia, Ænotria, H
peria, and Ausonia, names derived from
original inhabitants or its situation. Its bour
aries have been fixed by nature itself; for
three sides it is surrounded by the sea, and
the fourth it has the lofty Alps for its barri
The Appenines, a long chain of mountains, r
through its whole length, and not only divers
its features but its climate. Italy is about ni
hundred miles long, but of very unequal breadt
In shape it resembles a man's leg much mo
nearly than an oak leaf, to which the ancie
compared it.

Like most other countries, in early times,
was divided into numerous petty states and kin
doms. Concerning its aborigines and its p
mitive state, historians are much divided; an
as they all write from conjecture, it is in vain
attempt to settle their disputes. The native i
habitants were probably few, before the Gree
established several flourishing colonies on t
coasts. We read of the Pelasgi, the Siculi, t
Arcades, the Rutuli, the Volsci, the Etrusci, t
Ligures, the Sabini, the Latini, and other n
tions; but we know very little more respecti
the generality of them besides their name.
may be proper, however, to observe, that t
modern Geneva was inhabited by the Liguria
The Venetians held that part of their late d
mains, which lies to the east of the Adise. T
Etruscans and the Umbrians possessed the mi
dle districts of the peninsula, now the kingdo
of Etruria and the ecclesiastical state. From t
Tiber to the frontiers of Naples was once t
country of the Sabines, the Latins, and t
Volsc

Volsci; Capua and Campania are now the territory of Naples; the Marsi, the Samnites, the Apulians, and the Lucanians, divided the rest of the country.

It seems to be certain that the principal of those nations derived their origin from the Greeks; but two only, the Etruscans and the Latins, are mentioned with any particular distinction, or deserve to have their transactions recorded. Other people occasionally appear on the stage on account of their contests with the Romans, to whose power they finally submitted; but, independently of the celebrity they derived from this circumstance, they are unworthy of notice in this place.

Etruria, the country of the Etrusci, if not the first peopled, was certainly the first civilised and best cultivated of any in Italy. It extended along the coast from the Alps to the straits of Sicily, and was divided into small districts, each of which had its king. These petty sovereigns sometimes contended with each other, and sometimes united their arms against the common enemy. Each state appointed a lictor to be the leader of its army; and hence from the number of lictors, the force of the allied powers could generally be estimated. From the Etruscans it was that the Romans borrowed their ceremonies, their sacrifices, and their augury; and such was the veneration paid to Etruria by this great nation, that before the conquest of Greece, the Roman youth used to be sent there to receive their education. No European country indeed seems to have made such an early and so great a proficiency in the arts and sciences as Etruria. Some precious remains of its works, still

served in the cabinets of the curious, are referred to as standards in elegance and taste. The Etruscan language differed both from the Greek and the Roman. Some inscriptions in it are still extant on the beautiful vases of that country, which have escaped the ravages of so many ages.

But it was not only in the mild arts of peace, but also in the fierce combat of war, that the Etruscans were distinguished. They made many a bold and resolute stand against the rising power of Rome; and it was not till after the effusion of much blood, that they bowed their necks to that yoke, which almost all the nations on earth were in succession doomed to bear.

The Latins, or the inhabitants of Latium, as being more immediately the ancestors of the Romans, require to have their history somewhat detailed. Yet such is the intermixture of fable with truth in all that regards their early transactions, that we cannot pretend in all cases to separate the one from the other.

Before the arrival of Æneas in Italy we read of only three kings reigning in Latium, whose names were Picus, Faunus, and Latinus. Picus, on the poetic authority of Virgil, who no doubt meant to flatter the Romans by his fiction, was the son of Saturn, as Faunus, with more probability, was the son of Picus.

In the reign of Faunus a colony of Arcadians, under the command of Evander, landed in a port of Latium, and being permitted to occupy a small uncultivated hill near the Tiber, built there a city called Pallanteum.

Latinus succeeded his father Faunus. This prince is celebrated in history, not so much for his wisdom or prowess as for the memorable incident

cident of the arrival of Æneas in Latium, with the companions of his misfortunes, which happened while he filled the throne.

At this conjuncture Latinus was engaged in a war with the Rutuli, and immediately on receiving intelligence of the strangers having landed in his dominions marched towards them, expecting to find an undisciplined banditti. But the pious Æneas, who has been immortalised by the prince of Latin poets, though commanding a body of hardy and experienced veterans, held out the olive of peace. Latinus listened to his melancholy tale, and pitying the misfortunes of the Trojan exiles, assigned them a portion of land, on condition of their joining him against the Rutuli. Æneas eagerly embraced the offer, and performed such essential service in the cause of the Latins, that this monarch bestowed on him his only daughter, Lavinia, in marriage, with the right of succession to the crown.

In order to testify his gratitude to Latinus, and his affection for Lavinia, Æneas gave her name to the camp he had pitched, and called it Lavinium. The Trojans following the example of their leader, intermarried, and formed alliances with the Latin families; and thus in a short time they became one and the same people.

Mean while Faunus, who under the auspices of his mother had made public pretensions to the hand of Lavinia, before the arrival of the Trojans, seeing himself defeated in his views both of a wife and a throne, and following the impulse of jealousy and resentment, went over to the Rutuli, and rekindled the embers of a war that had almost been extinguished. A battle soon

took place, in which both he and Latinus met their fate.

By the death of his father-in-law and the removal of his rival Faunus, the quiet possession of the kingdom of Latium fell to Æneas, and during three years of peace he swayed the sceptre with equal wisdom and impartiality.

In this space of time he employed himself in consolidating the two different nations who owned his authority; and, in order to civilise and refine their manners, he established the Greek games and festivals, the rites and worship of Vesta, the veneration of the Lares, and the belief in a palladium. Thus blending the sanctions of religion with the policy of civil government, he confirmed his power, and at the same time secured the happiness of his subjects.

His repose however was not of long duration. The Rutuli, the ancient enemies of Latium, entering into an alliance with Mezentius king of the Tyrrhenians, took the field with a design of expelling the Trojans, whose prosperity began to excite their jealousy. Æneas marched against them; and, in an engagement near the banks of the Numicus, being hardly pressed by the enemy, he was unfortunately precipitated into that river and drowned.

The Trojans had the artifice to conceal his body, and spread a report, to which the credulous superstition of his people readily listened, that he had disappeared in the heat of the action, and was translated to heaven. Accordingly a temple was erected to his honour; and he was worshipped under the title of Jupiter Indiges.

On the death of Æneas, his son Ascanius, Iulus, or Julius, who was born to him by Creusa before

before the fall of Troy, assumed the reins of government; and, with remarkable prudence for a young man, acted on the defensive against his foes, till he found a favourable opportunity of attack. His measures were so well concerted, that the main body of the enemy was entirely defeated, and the heroic Lausus, the son of Mezentius, was slain in the pursuit. His father was so afflicted and disheartened by this loss, that he immediately sued for peace, which was granted him, upon condition that in future the Tiber should be the boundary between the Latin and Etrurian territories.

Meanwhile Lavinia, the mother-in-law of the reigning prince, finding herself pregnant, and fearing some violence on the part of Ascanius, fled to the covert of a forest, where she was peaceably delivered of a son, whom she named Æneas after his father, and Sylvius from the place of his birth. The king, however, finding that the disappearance of Lavinia excited suspicions injurious to his reputation, ordered the strictest search to be made after her retreat; and having discovered both her and her son, treated them with the kindest attention.

Lavinium, which had been founded by his father, daily increased in extent and population; but as it was in reality the patrimony of Lavinia, and the inheritance of her infant son, Ascanius, with a noble sense of equity, resolved to resign it to the lawful heirs, and to build a city for himself. Accordingly he founded Alba Longa, and made it the capital of his new sovereignty. Here he died after a reign of about thirty-eight years, twelve of which were spent at Alba. He left but one son, named after him, Iulus; so that

between

between him and Sylvius lay the right of suc
cession to the Latin throne.

The inhabitants of Latium seeing their littl
kingdom on the eve of being disturbed and di
vided by the contending claims of the uncle an
the nephew, united Alba and Lavinium under on
sovereignty, which they conferred on Sylvius th
son of Lavinia and daughter of Latinus, in pre
ference to Iulus who was the offspring of
stranger. They however bestowed the sovereig
pontificate on the latter, a power which hence
forth continued in his family; and thus recon
ciled the discordant interests of the two com
petitors.

A succession of thirteen kings of the line o
Sylvius swayed the sceptre of Latium at the cit
of Alba, for nearly four hundred years; but w
scarcely know any thing of their histories, excep
their names and the duration of their reigns. I
would be tedious and uninteresting to recite such
a dry catalogue; suffice it to say, that at las
Procas, the son of Aventinus and father of Nu
mitor and Amulius, after a reign of twenty
three years, bequeathed the throne to his eldes
son Numitor.

Amulius, however, infinitely surpassing hi
brother in courage and a spirit of enterpris
usurped the government; and, in order to secu
his ill-gotten power by means still more nefa
ous, murdered his nephew Ægestus, and th
compelled Rhea Sylvia, his brother's o
daughter, to dedicate herself to Vesta, by wh
on pain of death, she was doomed to perpe
virginity.

Thus having removed, as he imagined
apprehensions of seeing a claimant to the t

…om the descendants of Numitor, he …n the enjoyment of his usurpation, …d been effected and established by such …d unnatural policy. The event, how- …frustrated all his hopes, and disconcerted …is plans.

Rhea Sylvia in a solitary walk to a neighbouring grove in order to fetch water, was met and violated by a man whom, in palliation of her offence, she averred to be Mars, the god of war. Whoever this lover of hers might have been, whether some person who deceived her by assuming so great a name, or Amulius himself, as some writers affirm, it is impossible to determine; certain it is, that in due time she was delivered of twin boys, who were no sooner born, than devoted by the usurper to destruction. The mother was condemned to be buried alive, the usual punishment for vestals who had offended against chastity; but on the intercession of Antho, the daughter of Amulius, this sentence was changed to perpetual imprisonment. Her two infants, however, were ordered to be thrown into the Tiber, after being inclosed in one cradle. The cradle floating down the stream, was borne to the foot of the Aventine mount, and there stranded. In this situation, therefore, they continued without harm; and, that no part of their preservation might want its wonders, we are told, that they were for some time suckled by a wolf, until Faustulus, the king's herdsman, finding them thus exposed, and recognising who they were, brought them home to Acca Laurentia, his wife, who nursed them as her own. Some, however, will have it that the nurse's name was Lupa, which gave rise to the

the story of their being nourished by a w
but where fiction so evidently prevails, it is
less to attempt to balance probabilities.

Romulus and Remus, the twins thus stran
preserved, seem early to have discovered a
ties and desires above the meanness of their
posed original. The shepherd's life begai
displease them; and, from tending flock
hunting wild beasts, they soon turned their a
against the robbers who infested the cour
whom they often stripped of their plunder,
shared it among their fellow-shepherds.

In one of these predatory excursions, Re
was taken prisoner by Numitor's herdsmen,
brought him before the king, and accused
of the crime which he had so often attem
to suppress. Romulus, however, being infor
by Faustulus of his real birth, was not remi
assembling a number of his fellow-shepherd
order to rescue his brother from prison,
force the sceptre from the hands of the usur
Yet, being too feeble to act openly, he dire
his followers to assemble near the place by
ferent ways, and, as a distinguishing ensign
carry handfuls of hay (manipuli) tied to l
poles. Meanwhile Remus with equal vigila
gained upon the citizens within. Amulius, t
beset on all sides, and not knowing what e
dient to adopt for his security, was, during
amazement and distraction, taken and s
while Numitor, who had been deposed forty
years, recognised his grandsons, and was
more restored to the throne.

Numitor being thus secured in the quie
session of the kingdom, his grandsons re
to build a city upon those hills where the
fo-

ere void of change, rejoiced to find
eted city, and prepared to raise its dignity
ew settlers, were several families which de-
their lineage from the Trojans; and, in
o carry on the design with more expedition,
eople were divided into two parts; each of
h, it was supposed, would infallibly
ate the other. But what was designed as
lvantage, proved nearly fatal to the infant
ty; it gave birth to two factions, one pay-
ig Romulus, the other Remus, who
s differed about the spot where the city
ld stand. To terminate this dispute, they
advised by the king to take an augury from
light of birds; and that he whose augury
ed most favourable, should in all respects
paramount authority. In compliance with
suggestion, they both took their stations
different hills. To Remus appeared six
ures; to Romulus, twice that number: so
each party thought itself victorious; but

and left sole commander, began the foundati
of a city that was one day to give laws to t
world. It was called Rome, after t
A. M. name of the founder, and built upon t
3256. Palatine hill, on which he had taken
A. C. successful omen. The city was at fi
748. almost square, and about a mile
compass, containing about a thousa
houses, or rather huts. Even the palace of R
mulus was built of reeds, and thatched w
straw; and his government extended over
small territory of about eight miles. Howev
small as it appears, it was, notwithstanding, i
adequately peopled; and the first method ma
use of to increase its inhabitants, was the ope
ing a sanctuary for all malefactors, slaves, a
such as were desirous of novelty. These car
in great multitudes, and contributed to au
ment the number of the legislator's new subjec

To have a just idea therefore of Rome, in
infant state, we have only to picture a collecti
of temporary cottages surrounded by a feet
wall of mud, rather filled with a tumultuous a
vicious rabble, than with subjects used to ob
dience and control: we have only to concei
men bred to rapine, living in a place that seem
merely calculated for the reception of plunde
and yet, to our astonishment, we shall find th
assemblage of huts gradually rising into th
most splendid piles of architecture; this t
multuous concourse uniting in the strictest bon
of society; this lawless rabble assuming the mo
decorous manners, and setting examples to a
the world of valour, virtue, and a regard for r
ligion.

CHA

CHAP. II.

From the Building of Rome to the Expulsion of Tarquin, the last King.

SCARCELY was Rome become habitable, when its rude citizens began to think of giving some form to their constitution. Their first object was to unite liberty with legitimate authority; to form a kind of mixed monarchy, in which all power was to be adjusted and divided between the prince and the people. Romulus, by an act of uncommon generosity, or rather of policy, left them at liberty to choose their king; and they, in gratitude, concurred to elect their founder, as was probably expected. He was accordingly acknowledged as chief of their religion, sovereign magistrate of Rome, and general of the army. Besides a guard to attend his person, it was agreed that he should be preceded, wherever he went, by twelve men armed with axes tied up in a bundle of rods or fasces, who were to serve as executioners of the law, and to impress his new subjects with an idea of subjection. Yet still this authority was under very great restrictions, as the whole power of the king consisted in calling the senate together; in assembling the people; in conducting the army, when it was decreed by the other part of the constitution that they should go to war; and in appointing the questors, or treasurers of the public money; officers who, at

 that

that time, could have but very little employmen
as neither the soldiers nor magistrates receive
any pay.

The senate, which was to act as counsellors t
the king, was composed of a hundred of th
principal citizens of Rome, consisting of me
whose age, wisdom, or valour, gave them a n
tural influence among their fellow-subjects. Th
king named the first senator, and appointed hi
to the government of the city, whenever wa
required the general's absence. In this respec
able assembly was transacted all the importa
business of the state, the king himself presidin
although every question was to be determined b
a majority of voices. As they were supposed t
have a paternal affection for the people, the
were called Fathers; and their descendants, P
tricians. To the Patricians belonged all th
principal offices of the state, as well as of th
priesthood. To these situations they were a
pointed by the senate and the people, while th
lower ranks of citizens, excluded from all viev
of promotion for themselves, were to expect a
vantages only from their valour in war, or the
assiduity in agriculture.

The Plebeians, who composed the third pa
of the legislature, assumed to themselves th
power of sanctioning those laws which we
passed by the king or the senate. All things r
lative to peace or war, to the election of m
gistrates, and even to the choosing a king, we
confirmed by their suffrages. In their num
rous assemblies all enterprises against the enem
were proposed, while the senate had only a n
gative voice. Thus was the state composed
three orders, each intended as a check upon t
othe

other: the people resolved whether the proposals of the king were agreeable to them; the senate deliberated upon the expediency of the measure; and the king gave animation to the whole by directing the execution. But, though the people by these regulations seemed in possession of great power, yet an important circumstance contributed greatly to its diminution; namely, the rights of patronage, which were lodged in the senate. The king, sensible that in every state there must be a dependence of the necessitous upon the powerful, gave permission to every plebeian to choose one among the senators for a patron. The bond was very strong, and implied a mutuality of obligations: the patron was to give protection to his client, to assist him with his advice and fortune, to plead for him before the judge, and to rescue him from every oppression. On the other hand, the client attached himself to the interests of his patron; assisted him, if poor, to portion his daughters, to pay his debts, or his ransom, in case of being taken prisoner: he was to follow him on every service of danger; whenever he stood candidate for an office, he was obliged to give him his suffrage; and was prohibited from giving testimony in a court of justice if his evidence affected the welfare of his patron. These reciprocal duties were held so sacred, that those who violated them were ever after held infamous, and excluded from the protection of the laws: so that from hence we see the senators, in effect, were possessed of the suffrages of their clients; since all that was left the people, was only the power of choosing what patron they should obey. In a nation, however, so barbarous and

t Romans, it was politic t
, and to enforce obedience, as the
promoting public or private hap-

are of the new-created king was to
o humanise his subjects, by a belief
ural agency. The precise form of
ip is unknown; but the greatest part
ligion of that age consisted in a firm
pon the credit of their soothsayers *, who

we shall frequently have occasion, in the course of
ory, to speak of augurs, and auspices, or soothsayers,
not be improper to give some account, in this place, of
nd of divination. The art of divination, and foretel-
ature events, by the flight, chirping, or motions of birds
from the Chaldeans to the Greeks, from them to t
rians, and from the Etrurians to the Latins and Roma
e name of augur is derived by some *ab avium garritu*: that is, either from the motion
iers, *ab avium gestu*; that is, from the chirping and chattering, of birds.
tions, or from the chirping and chattering, of birds.
Romulus himself was well versed in this art, after h
divided the city into three tribes, he appointed an au
each tribe. A fourth was added some time after, p
by Servius Tullius, who increased the tribes. Th
were all chosen out of the patricians; but in the
Rome 454, at the solicitation of the tribunes, fiv
were added to the college, elected out of the comm
and, in the year 672, Sylla increased their numbe
The eldest of these presided over the rest, and w
with the title of Magister Collegii. Their offic
find comprised in the augural law mentioned b
to interpret dreams, oracles, prodigies, &c. and t
any action should be fortunate or prejudicial to
sons, or to the whole state. Thus they wer
ters of the will of the gods, with respect to
or peace and all were obliged to obey them
an article.

As to the auspices, they were so called
that is, from looking on the altars. Th

pretende[d] m o[f] rations on the flight birds and [en]trails or beasts, to direct the [e]sent, and to dive into futurity. This pious [fr]aud, originating in the first instance from igno[r]nce, soon became a most useful machine in [t]he hands of government. Romulus, by an ex[p]ress law, commanded, that no election should [b]e made, nor any enterprise undertaken, without first consulting the soothsayers. With equal wisdom he ordained, that no new divinities should be introduced into public worship; that the priesthood should continue for life; and that none should be eligible to this office before the age of fifty. He forbade them to mix fable with the mysteries of their religion; and, that they might be qualified to teach others, he ordered that they should be the historiographers of the times. These regulations are so judicious, that they reflect honour on the legislative talents of Romulus. It is to be lamented that their spirit and essence have not been retained, wherever a priesthood was established.

Of his other laws we have but few fragment remaining. From these however we learn, th[at] wives were forbidden, upon any pretext wha[t]

were all taken at first from Etruria, where their art was in g[reat] repute; but afterwards the senate ordered twelve of the [sons] of the chief men in Rome to be sent into that country [to] learn there the rites and ceremonies of the Etruscan reli[gion] of which this science was the chief part. The business o[f] auspices was to look upon the sacred victims, and by [them] to foretel the success of any enterprise. They took th[ese] observations from the victims before they were cut up [or] their entrails after they were cut up; from the flame th[at] to rise while they were burning; and lastly, from th[e] bran, frankincense, wine, or water, used in the sacrifi[ce]

soever, to separate from their husba...
on the contrary, the husband was empowe
repudiate the wife, and even to put her to
with the consent of her relations, in case sh
detected in adultery, in attempting to p
him, in making false keys, or even of h
drunk too much wine. His laws relati
children and their parents were yet still
severe; the father had an entire power ov
offspring, both of fortune and life; he coul
them or imprison them at any period of
lives, or in any stations to which they we
rived. The father might also expose his chil
if born with any deformities, having previ
communicated his intentions to his five n
kindred. Our lawgiver seemed more hu
even to his enemies; for his subjects were
hibited from killing them after they had
rendered, or even from selling them: his
bition only aimed at diminishing the numb
his foes by converting them into friends.

After having exerted himself to increas
subjects, and to regulate them by laws, he
gave orders to ascertain their numbers.
whole amounted to but three thousand
and about as many hundred horsemen, ca
of bearing arms. These therefore were di
equally into three tribes, and to each h
signed a different part of the city. Eac
these tribes again was subdivided into ten c
or companies, consisting of a hundred men,
a centurion to command it; a priest des
nated Curio to perform the sacrifices; an
of the principal inhabitants, called Duu
to distribute justice. According to the n
of Curiæ he divided the lands into thirty

re

ving one portion for public uses, and an-
r for religious ceremonies. The simplicity
frugality of the times will be best under-
d by observing, that a citizen was not al-
ed above two acres of ground for his own
sistence. Of the horsemen already men-
ed, ten were chosen from each Curiæ: these
e particularly appointed to surround the per-
of the king in battle; of them his guard
composed; and from their alacrity in war,
rom some other circumstance connected with
ir establishment, they were called Celeres, a
d equivalent to light horsemen in our lan-
ge.

A government thus wisely instituted, it may
l be supposed, induced numbers to claim its
tection; each day indeed added to its strength;
ltitudes flocked in from all the adjacent towns;
it only seemed to want women to perpetuate
duration. In this exigence, Romulus, by the
ice of the senate, sent deputies to the Sa-
es, his neighbours, entreating their alliance,
l, upon the terms of intermarriages, offering
cement the most strict confederacy with them.
e Sabines, who were then considered as the

throughout all the neighbouring villages, s
made the most magnificent preparations for
solemnization. The Sabines, as he had expect
were among the foremost who came to be sp
tators, bringing their wives and daughters w
them, to share the pleasures of the sight. T
inhabitants also of many of the neighbour
towns attended, who were received by
Romans with marks of the most cordial ho
tality. In the mean time the games began; s
while the strangers were intent upon the sp
tacle, a number of the Roman youth rushe
among them with drawn swords, seized
youngest and most beautiful women, and can
them off by violence. In vain the parents p
tested against this breach of hospitality; in v
the virgins at first opposed the attempts of t
ravishers; perseverance and caresses obtai
those favours which timidity at first denied;
that the betrayers, from being objects of a
sion, soon became the partners of their dea
affections.

But though the ladies in general were soon
conciled to their resolute lovers, their par
highly resented the affront. The citizens
Cecina, Antemnæ, and Crustuminum, were
first who resolved to revenge the common ca
which the Sabines seemed too dilatory in p
suing. These, by making separate inroads,
came a more easy conquest to Romulus, v
first overthrew the Cecinenses, slew their k
Acron in single combat, and made an offer
of the royal spoils to Jupiter Feretrius, on
same spot where the capitol was afterwa
built. The Antemnates and Crustumini
shared the same fate; their armies were o
thro

thrown, and their cities taken. The conqueror, however, made a very merciful use of his victory; for, instead of destroying the natives or their towns, he only placed frontier colonies of Romans in them, to repress more distant invasions.

Tatius, king of Cures, a Sabine city, was the last, although the most formidable, who undertook to revenge the disgrace his country had suffered. He entered the Roman territories at the head of twenty-five thousand men; and added stratagem to a superiority in forces. Tarpeia, daughter to the commander of the Capitoline hill, happened to fall into his hands, as she went without the walls of the city to fetch water. Upon her he prevailed, by large promises, to betray one of the gates to his army. The rewards he engaged for was, what the soldiers wore on their arms, by which she meant their bracelets. They, however, either mistaking her meaning, or detesting her perfidy, threw their bucklers upon her as they entered, and crushed her to death. The Sabines, being thus possessed of the Capitoline, had the advantage of continuing the war at their pleasure, and for some time only slight encounters passed between them and the Romans. The tediousness of this contest, however, began to exhaust both parties; so that each wished, but neither would stoop to sue for peace. A desire of peace often prompts the most vigorous exertions in war: both sides resolving to terminate their differences by a decisive action, a general engagement ensued, which was renewed for several days, with almost equal success. Both armies contended for all that was valuable in life, and neither could think of submitting.

mitting. In the valley between the Cap
and Quirinal hills, the last engagemen
fought between the Romans and the S:
The battle was become general, and the s
ter prodigious, when the attention of both
was suddenly turned from the scene of
before them, to another infinitely more in
ing to humanity. The Sabine women, wh
been carried off by the Romans, were see
their hair loose and their ornaments neg
interposing between the combatants, reg:
of their own danger, and only solicitous f
of their parents, their husbands, and
children. "If (cried they) you are re
"upon slaughter, turn your arms upon us
"we only are the cause of your animosit
"any must die, let it be us; since, if our f
"or our husbands fall, we must in eith
"be miserable in surviving them." A sp
so moving was irresistible: both sides,
while, as if by mutual impulse, let fal
weapons, and beheld the distress in silent
ment. The tears and entreaties of thei
and daughters at length prevailed: an
modation ensued, by which it was agree
Romulus and Tatius should reign join
Rome, with equal power and prerogative
an hundred Sabines should be admitted i
senate; that the city should still retain its
name, but that the citizens should be
Quirites, a name till then peculiar to t
bines; and that both nations being thus
such of the Sabines as were inclined, sho
admitted to enjoy all the privileges of d
in Rome. Thus every successive storm
seemed to threaten this growing empire,

only to increase its vigour. The soldiers of that army, which in the morning had resolved upon its destruction, came in the evening with joy, to be enrolled among the number of its citizens. Romulus saw his dominions and his subjects increased by more than half, in the space of a few hours; and, as if fortune meant every way to assist his ambition, Tatius *, his partner in the government, was killed about five years after by the Lavinians, in revenge for having protected some of his dependents, who had plundered them and slain their ambassadors; so that by this accident Romulus once more saw himself sole monarch in the empire he had founded.

Rome being greatly strengthened by this new accession of power, began to grow formidable to her neighbours; and it may be supposed, that pretexts for war were not wanting, when prompted by jealousy on one side, and by ambition on the other. Fidenæ and Cameria, two neighbouring cities, were subdued and taken. Veii also, one of the most powerful states of Etruria, shared nearly the same fate; after two fierce engagements they sued for peace and a league, which was granted on condition of giving up seven small towns on the Tiber, their salt-pits near that river, and a sufficient number of hostages.

Elevated by success, the conqueror enlarged his views. From being contented with those limits which had been wisely assigned to his power, he began to affect absolute sway, and

* During the co-reign of Tatius, the equestrian order, or intermediate link between the patricians and the plebeians, appears to have been instituted.

to

to control those laws to which he had formerly professed implicit obedience. The senate particularly resented his arrogant conduct, as they found themselves used only as instruments to ratify the rigour of his mandates. We are not told, however, the precise manner which they employed to emancipate themselves from the tyrant; some say that he was torn in pieces in the senate-house; others, that he disappeared while reviewing his army: certain it is, that, from the secrecy of the fact, and the concealment of the body, they took occasion to persuade the multitude, that he was taken up into heaven: thus, the man whom they could not bear as a king, for political reasons, they were contented to worship as a God.

Romulus reigned thirty-seven years, and after his death had a temple dedicated to him, under the name of Quirinus; Proclus, one of the senators, solemnly affirming, that he had re-appeared to him, and desired to be invoked by that title.

In the character of this prince we find an assemblage of great and base qualities. He was temperate, brave, and politic; but irascible, proud, and cunning. The latter quality indeed probably enabled him to accomplish such great designs; to profit by the prejudices and partialities of his adherents; and to turn even the errors of his enemies to his own advantage. In a word, he seems to have been admirably fitted for the important part he performed; and while we contemplate the mighty fabric of empire, whose foundation he laid, it is impossible not to regard him with some degree of enthusiasm.

At

this period Rome had become a A. C.
rful state; her forces now amount- 711.
forty-six thousand foot and a thou-
horse. As Romulus left no heir, it was
lt to unite so great a concourse of different
cts in obedience to one governor: in fact,
ty seemed greatly divided in the choice of
cessor. The Sabines were anxious to have
chosen from their body, but the Romans
not consent to advance a stranger to the
e. In this perplexity the senators under-
to supply the place of a king, by taking
overnment, each of them in turn, for five
and during that time, enjoying all the
rs and all the privileges of royalty. This
egnum continued a whole year, when the
ans, who saw that this method of trans-
g power was only multiplying their mas-
nsisted upon altering that mode of govern-
allowing the senate the power, either of
ating a king, or electing annual magis-
from among their number. The senate
thus driven to an election, for some time
d upon the proper form, till at length, it
greed, that the party which elected, should
ate from the body of the other, so that the
ing would have equal attachments to both;
one as his countrymen, to the other as his
rs. In consequence of this determination
oice being left to the Roman part of the
, they pitched upon Numa Pompilius, a
; and their nomination, which the event
d to be most judicious, was received with
sal approbation by the rest of the senate
e people.

na Pompilius, who was now about forty,

had long been illustrious for piety, justice, m
deration, and an exemplary life. He was skill
in all the learning and philosophy of the Sabin
and lived at Cures, contented with a priva
fortune, and unambitious of public honou
though the son-in-law of king Tatius. It w
not, therefore, without reluctance that he
cepted the dignity which was conferred up
him; he for some time, indeed, obstinately
fused it; but, at length, at the request of
father, and the persuasions of the ambassad
who were sent to him from Rome, he consent
to accept the delegated power. His acce
ance produced such joy, that the people seem
not so much to receive a king as a kingdo
and they certainly did not over-rate the me
of their choice. No monarch could be m
proper for them than Numa, at a conjunct
when the government was composed of vari
petty states lately subdued, and but ill unit
among themselves: they wanted a master w
could, by his institutions and his precepts, soft
their fierce dispositions, and by his example
spire them with a love of religion and virt
Under Numa, therefore, the people soon beca
more submissive and social; but what gave th
still greater force, if considered in the light
conquerors, was the spirit of religion, which
implanted among them. This continued
operate through a long succession of ages;
what could resist the greatest valour, when i
pelled by the most profound superstition?

In the reign of Numa, it is with sincere pl
sure we have to contemplate only the pacific
tues, which are always most honourable
king, and most beneficial to his people.

time of this good man was spent in in- his subjects with a love of piety, and a ration for the Gods. He built many new ples, he instituted feasts; and the sanctity of life gave him credit sufficient to persuade his ple, that he had a particular correspondence h the goddess Egeria. By her pretended ad- he built the temple of Janus*, which was e shut in time of peace, and open in war: ordained vestal virgins, who had very great vileges allowed them, such as that of being ceded by the fasces or ensigns of royal power, of pardoning malefactors, in case of an ac- ental meeting: he instituted pontiffs, and en- ed himself among the number: he founded orders of the Salian and Fecial priesthood, one to preserve the sacred shields called An- , which he pretended had dropped down m heaven, and which, while remaining in me, the city, as it was said, could never be en; the other to judge of the equity of war, to proclaim it with great ceremony.

For the encouragement of agriculture, he di- ed those lands which Romulus had gained war, among the lower orders of the people; softened the rigour of the laws, which his decessor had instituted with regard to parents children, making it unlawful for a father to his son after marriage, because he thought unjust, that a woman who had married a free- n, should be constrained to live with a slave: regulated the kalendar, and abolished the

* Janus was represented with two faces looking differ- , emblematic of that prudent foresight and retro- ich should precede the enterprises of war.

distinction between Romans and Sabines, by dividing the people according to their several occupations, and blending them into one mass. By these means both nations were brought to a perfect union. Thus having arrived at the age of eighty-three years, and having reigned forty-three in profound peace, and the exercise of the best and mildest virtues, he died, ordering his body to be buried in a stone coffin, contrary to the custom of the times, and his books of ceremonies, which consisted of twelve in Latin and as many in Greek, to be buried by his side, in another. These were taken up about four hundred years after; and because it was thought impious to communicate the mysteries they contained to the public, they were burnt by order of the senate.

A. C. 665.

In whatever light we regard the character of Numa, he is entitled to unqualified praise, though his actions afford little scope for the historian, and display nothing to dazzle and confound the unreflecting multitude. But if it be the duty of a king to promote the happiness of his subjects by preserving them in peace, and the enjoyment of freedom, Numa deserves the highest panegyric; and in our estimation will ever be the purest model for imitation that antiquity produced.

imself against the Sabines, was every his predecessor, being entirely de- ır, and more fond of enterprise than ɔunder of the empire had been; so ı glad of any pretext for leading his e field.

ɔans were the first people who gave portunity of indulging his favourite . Two neighbouring states, both war, and both in some measure sub- ɔlunder, can never be at a loss to co- olence of a first aggression. A few epherds had, it seems, committed an m the territories of Alba; a number shepherds had made reprisals upon bassadors were sent from each state, ıg of the injury; no redress was given, nal war was declared on both sides, her however would bear the blame of ɔvoked. There were indeed many rea- ıking these two states unwilling to come ı rupture; they were descended from ɔriginal, and the ties of consanguinity nany of them united. There were also hbouring states, enemies to both, that ıt an opportunity of falling upon them. hese dispositions, and after some de- Roman and Alban forces at length ıt five miles from Rome, prepared to e fate of their respective kingdoms: t every battle in these barbarous tin ive. The two armies were for sor ɔn out in array, awaiting the signal th impatient to remove the dreac which kept them from death or victc ıexpected proposal from the Alban

neral suspended the onset; for steppin
tween both armies, he offered the Rc
choice of deciding the dispute by single
adding, that the side, whose champ
overcome, should submit to the conque
proposal like this suited the impetuous te
the Roman king, and was embraced
by his subjects, each of whom hoped, tl
self should be chosen to fight the caus
country. Many valiant men offered the
but could not be accepted to the excl
others, till, at last, chance suggested a
There were at that time three twin br
each army; those of the Romans wer
Horatii, and the Albans Curiatii, all
able for their courage, strength, and acti
them it was resolved to commit the
ment of the combat. When the previo
mony of oaths and protestations, bind
army of the vanquished party to submit
of the victorious, was over, the combata
led forth, amidst the encouragemer
prayers, and the shouts of their
They were reminded of their former a
ments; they were admonished, that their
their countrymen, and even the God
spectators of their prowess. When the
however, expected to see them rush to tl
bat, they dropped their arms, and en
each other with all the marks of the mos
friendship; but, at length, warmed w
importance of the cause, the champions e
and each, totally regardless of his own
sought only the destruction of his op
The spectators, in horrid silence, trem
every blow, and burned to share the dan

which had hitherto been
ap——— to declare against the Ro-
consternation they beheld two of their
lying dead upon the plain, and the
Curiatii, being all wounded, slowly en-
ring to pursue the survivor, who seemed
ht to elude their y. The Alban army,
le to suppress thei oy, raised a loud accla-
ion, while the Ron inwardly cursed the
rdice of him wh t saw in circum-
ces of such basene Soon, however, they
n to alter their sentiments, when they per-
ed that his flight was only pretended, in
r to separate his antagonists, whom he was
le to oppose united; for quickly after stop-
his course, and turning upon the nearest
mer, he laid him dead at his feet: the second
her, advancing to assist him who was fallen,
shared the same fate: and now there re-
ned but the last Curiatius to conquer, who,
gued and disabled with his many wounds,
ly came up to offer an easy victory. He
killed, almost unresisting, while the con-
or exulting, offered him as a victim to the
riority of the Romans, whom now the Alban
y consented to obey.

uch an atchievement, attended too with such
al effects, deserved every honour Rome
d bestow; but, to the disgrace of the con-
or, the hand which in the morning was
ted to save his country, was before night
rued in the blood of a sister. Returning
phant from the field, it raised his indigna-
to behold her bathed in tears, and lament-
the loss of her lover, one of the Curiatii, to
m she was betrothed; but, upon seeing the
vest

vest which she had made for her lover amo the number of his spoils, and hearing her u braidings, he was transported with passion, a slew her in a rage. This action greatly displeas the senate, and drew on himself the condemn tion of the magistrates; but he was pardon by making his appeal to the people, though laurels were for ever tarnished.

Matters being in this posture, Hostilius solved to avail himself of the late victory, confirming the submission of Alba, and taki the proper steps to quell the insolence of the habitants of Fidenæ and Veii, who had b making preparations to shake off their subjecti His designs were crowned with success in b undertakings. A victory over the Veii restrain their attempts for some time; and as to Fidenates, having convicted Metius Suffeti their general, of treason, he caused him to torn to pieces by horses. Finally, to prev future revolts, he utterly demolished the city Alba, and transplanted its inhabitants to Ro many of whom he admitted into the senate.

Without pausing, he next turned his a against the Sabines, over whom he gained a nal victory by means of his cavalry, which enemy were incapable of withstanding. T every new war, which depopulates other sta seemed but to add strength and numbers to t of Rome. No sooner was the war with the bines over, than the king commenced a new with the Latins, which nevertheless was mana but slowly on both sides, no battle being fou nor any town taken except Medallia, which formerly been obliged to accept a Roman col and was now permitted to be plundered, a

reign of thirty-two years, some say
ng, together with his whole family;
th more probability, by assassination;
he fire which consumed his palace was
conceal the crime.

short interregnum, Ancus Mar- A. C.
randson of Numa, was elected 634.
ne people, and the choice was
s confirmed by the senate. As this
was a lineal descendant from Numa, he
make him the great and deserved object
ation. Indeed he was by nature incapa-
ing any considerable figure in personal
s he took his name of Ancus, from the
ss of one of his arms, which he was
of extending: however, he made up
by the most diligent application to all
peace. He revived the sacred cere-
ich had fallen into disuse; he endea-
persuade the people, that the cala-

his territories; and by their outrages, in some measure, forced him into a war. But in this he still supported his character, and previously sent an herald to state its grounds. This officer assuming a peculiar dress, and with a javelin headed with iron in his hand, went to the confines of the enemy, solemnly proclaimed war, and then flung his weapon into their territories, with all the force he was able. The success of this war was equal to its justice; Ancus conquered the Latins, destroyed their cities, removed their inhabitants to Rome, and increased his territories by the addition of part of theirs. He quelled also an insurrection of the Veii, the Fidenates, and the Volscii, and obtained a second triumph over the Sabines.

But his victories over the enemy were all eclipsed by his pacific arts at home, in raising temples, fortifying the city, building a prison for malefactors, and forming a sea-port at the mouth of the Tiber, called Ostia, by which he secured to his subjects the trade of that river, and of the salt-pits adjacent. Nor was he less careful in encouraging strangers to settle at Rome: the privileges which they obtained, and the justice which was administered equally to

ho probably was prejudiced in his
offer Tarquinius had made of de-
is fortune in the treasury for pub-
e was therefore elected into the
ppointed guardian to the two sons
ho, having enriched his subjects,
d the city, died, after a glorious
ty-four years.

rquinius Priscus, who was A. C. 616.
d guardian to the sons of
took the surname of Tar-
the city of Tarquinia, the place of
sidence. His father was a mer-
nth, who had acquired considerable
de, and had settled in Italy upon
me troubles at home. His son Lu-
inherited his fortune, married a
nily in the city of Tarquinia; and
profession, and country, were con-
he eyes of the nobles of the place,
persuasions, he removed to Rome,
only was entitled to distinction. On
ier, say the historians, as he ap-
city-gate, an eagle, stooping from
off his hat, and, flying round his
me time with much noise, put it on
his wife Tanaquil, who, it seems,
augury, interpreted as a presage,
ld one day wear the crown; and
vas this circumstance which first
bition to obtain it: accordingly,
ed of great riches, all his actions
seemed to aim at popularity. His
ss, his frequent invitations, and the
s he conferred, gained the esteem
on of a people, who were yet un-
skilled

the arts of intrigue, and naturally cap-
with the appearance of generosity.
he death of Ancus, the kingdom, as
devolving upon the senate, Tarquin ex-
ll his influence to set aside the children
late king, and to obtain the crown for
lf. For this purpose, upon the day ap-
ed for election, he contrived to have the
g princes sent out of the city; and in a
ch to the people, in which he urged his
dship for them, the fortune he had spent
his knowledge of their government, he of
ed himself for their king. As this harangu
lected only the image of truth, it produc
e desired effect, and the people, with one c
nt, elected him their sovereign.

A kingdom thus obtained by intrigue was,
withstanding, governed with equity. In the
ginning of his reign, that he might gratify
friends, he added a hundred members to
senate, which now increased the numb
three hundred. He likewise added three
vestal virgins, heretofore only four, and l
foundations of an amphitheatre for the c
of men and beasts, which were afterwar
ried to a horrid excess. The first show
ever, were only horse-racing and box
which men, hired for that purpose from
fought with gauntlets for a prize.
simple and comparatively innocent e
gradually gave way to those of a more
sanguinary nature, till, in a later age,
sand gladiators were seen at once e
dead upon the stage!

It was not long, however, before
ful pursuits were interrupted by th

eighbours, particularly the Latins,
ıe triumphed, and forced to beg a
then turned his arms against the
o had risen once more, and had
the river Tiber upon a bridge of
ler to plunder the Roman territo-
possible, to sack the city. Tar-
er, soon came up with them on the
river, and setting fire to a large
l that laid by its side, ordered it to
. The burning wood, floating down
set fire to the enemy's bridge, and
heir retreat. Nor did he permit
measures for opposing him; but
m with vigour, routed their army;
y, who escaped the sword, were
attempting to cross over, while
ınd armour, floating down to Rome,
s of the victory, even before the
ould arrive that were sent to an-
greeable event.

resolving not to give the Sabines
er from this defeat, followed them
n country; where, by another vic-
ged them to sue for peace, which
l, at the expence of a considerable
territories, and of Collatia, a large
es east of Rome. These conquests
d by several advantages over the
whom he took many towns, though
ng any decisive victory.

ıaving thus forced his enemies into
as resolved to guard his subjects from
olence: he undertook several pub-
the convenience and embellishment
He surrounded it with stronger and

more extensive walls; he adorned the For
or market-place, with porticoes; he made n
sewers to drain the city, some of which e
the admiration of travellers to this day: he
proved the amphitheatre which his predece
had begun, and laid the foundation of the
pitol, which, however, he did not live to fi

In his reign also the augurs increased ir
putation; as he found it his interest to pro
the superstition of the people, which wa
fact but to increase their obedience. Tana
his wife, was a great pretender to this art;
Accius Nævius was the most celebrated ade
the kind that was ever known in Rome. U
a certain occasion, Tarquin, being sensible c
want of cavalry, had some intentions of doub
their former number; but he was restraine
the augur, who declared, that it was forbi
by the gods to alter any of the institutio
their founder. The king, as historians
being in a violent passion upon this declara
resolved to try the augur's skill, and asked
in derision, whether what he was then po
ing in his mind could be effected? Nævius,
ing examined his auguries, boldly affirmed
it might: "Why then," cries the king, wi
insulting smile, "I had thoughts of cutting
whet-stone with a razor."—"Cut boldly,"
plied the augur; and the king cut it thr
accordingly *. Whether this was done by
lusion does not appear, but certain it is,
thenceforward nothing was undertaker

* This miracle constantly passed for authentic at R
yet Cicero ventured to ridicule it. An *esoteric* and an e
doctrine was common among the ancient philosophers.

F

without consulting the augurs, and ob-
g their advice and approbation. No as-
y was dismissed, nor army levied; no
fought, nor peace restored, without re-
g to the chirping and the flight of birds,
, as it may be supposed, the augurs made
ak whatever language they pleased.
ambition of Tarquin, not contented with
dom, tempted him to assume the ensigns
alty also; such as a crown of gold, an
throne, a sceptre with an eagle on the top,
bes of purple. It was, perhaps, the splen-
of these royalties that first raised the envy
late king's sons, who had now for above
seven years quietly submitted to his go-
ent. His design also of adopting Servius
s, his son-in-law, for his successor, might
contributed to inflame their resentment.
ever was the cause of their tardy ven-
e, they resolved to destroy him; and, at
ound means to effect their purpose by hir-
o ruffians, who, demanding to speak with
ng, under the pretence that they came for
, struck him dead in his palace with the
of an axe. The lictors, however, wh
l upon the person of the king, seized th
rers, who were attempting to escape;
were put to death; but the sons of Anc
were the instigators, found safety by fli
us fell Lucius Tarquinius
s, in order to distinguish hi
ccessors of the same nam
l age of eighty years, and th
f his reign. Being of Greek
ne manner, introduced pa
f that country among his

though the Romans were at this period ve
from being civilised, yet they had made co
able progress in refinement, compared wi
surrounding nations.

A. C. 573. The murder of Tarquin was no
rumoured abroad, than the citize
from every quarter to the palace, t
the truth of the account, or to take ven
on the assassins. In this tumult, Tanaqu
dow of the late king, considering the dang
must incur, in case the conspirators shou
ceed to the crown; and desirous of havi
son-in-law for his successor, with great a
sembled her sorrow, as well as the king's
She assured the people, from one of the wi
of the palace, that he was not killed, but
ned by the blow; that he would shortly re
and that, in the mean time, he had deput
power to Servius Tullius, his son-in-law.
vius, accordingly, as it had been agreed
between them, issuing from the palace, ac
with the ensigns of royalty, and preceded
lictors, immediately proceeded to dispatch
affairs that related to the public safety; sti
tending, that he took all his instructions
the king. This artifice was successfully k
for some days, till he had secured his ele
among the nobles; when the death of T
being publicly ascertained, Servius obtain
crown solely, by the senate's appointmen
without attempting to gain the suffrages
people.

Servius was the son of a bondwoman, wl
been taken at the sacking of Corniculu
was born when his mother was a slave.
yet an infant in his cradle, a lambent

ave played round his head, which Ta-
vith her wonted address, converted into
of his future greatness. Impressed with
ion, she gave him the best education of
s, and soon after raised him to the ho-
being her son-in-law, and appointed him,
king grew old, to the management of
oth foreign and domestic. His conduct
tation gained him the good-will of the
nd, what he valued still more, the esteem
nate.

being acknowledged as king, the chief
his care was to increase the power of
e by depressing that of the people; an
e attended with extreme difficulty and
To compass his intention, he was obliged
by stratagem; and, by seeming to study
rest, bring about a measure that should
ly destroy their authory. The Roman
had hitherto been taxed singly, and each
equal share to the necessities of the
This method of contributing to the pub-
ncies, he very plausibly pretended, was
y unjust, and proposed one of a more
kind, by which every citizen should be
cording to his fortune. The populace,
e unable to dive into his designs, re-
s project with loud acclamations, and
upon him a full power of settling the
ne should think proper. To begin, there-
ordered an exact enumeration to be
the citizens of Rome, their children and
and also a just valuation of their es-
substance. Their numbers were found
t to above fourscore thousand men, ca-
bearing arms:—a vast increase in the

space of one hundred and seventy-fi
which had elapsed since the building
These he divided into six classes; in th
which he comprised the body of the s
patricians, and all those whose fortu
above eleven hundred thousand asses,
three hundred and sixty-six pounds of
ney; at that time no contemptible
This class he sub-divided into fours
turies, or companies, one half of w
ing composed of the most aged and re
persons, were to remain at home for
fence of the city; the other half, con
the youthful and vigorous, were to f
general, and to march into the field. T
pons were a javelin, a spear, and a swo
armour, a helmet, a cuirass, and c
brass. In this class also were comp
knights or horsemen, which consisted
teen centuries, with two more of the m
who followed the camp. The second cla
consisted but of twenty-two centuries c
nies, was composed of those who were
bove seventy-five thousand asses; th
accoutred in the same manner with the
only, instead of a shield, they carried
The third class consisted of twenty centu
was composed of such as were worth f
sand asses. The fourth class consisted
lar number of centuries, and was con
such as were worth twenty-five thous
In the fifth class were thirty centuries
qualification was eleven thousand ass
were chiefly employed as slingers and
in the army. In the last and lowest c
was but one century, and it seemed t

ed as of no advantage to the state, ex-
of rearing children, who might one day be
il. This class paid no taxes, and was dis-
ed with from going to war. In all these
es, as in the first, a part, consisting of the
men, were ordained to remain at home for
defence of the city, and the more youthful
ght abroad in their armies. Thus the whole
ber of the citizens was divided into a hun-
and seventy-three centuries, each command-
y a centurion of distinguished valour and ex-
nce.

he citizens being ranked in this manner,
next to be taxed, but not as formerly
dly and individually, but by centuries; each
ury being obliged to supply an equal share
he exigencies of government. By these
ns, as the people were extremely numerous
he centuries of the inferior classes, their
a of taxation was proportionably small.
unnot indeed be doubted but this partial ex-
tion from taxes was highly grateful to the
ilace, but they little considered that they
to purchase it at the expence of their for-
power: for it was but reasonable, that, as
enators and the rich contributed most to the
ssities of the state, they should also have a
ortionable influence in managing its con-
s. Accordingly, as they paid their taxes by
uries, it was ordained, that they should give
votes, in all public transactions, by centu-
also. In deliberations on the affairs of state,
citizen had hitherto given his suffrage
ly, and the numbers of the poor always car-
the vote against the power of the rich; but by
regulations of Servius, the senate, consisting

of

of a greater number of centuries than al
other classes put together, now entirely
weighed them in every decision. The pleb
by this stroke of policy, had only the shad
authority left; with which, however, for
ages, they seemed sufficiently contented,
the increasing luxury of the times taugh
side the abuse of power; and the other, a
that disdained subordination, even to legiti
authority.

In order to ascertain the increase or dec
his subjects and their fortunes, Tullius insti
another regulation, which he called a lustru
by which all the citizens were to assemble i
Campus Martius, in complete armour, a
their respective classes, once every five y
there to deliver in an exact account of the
milies and fortune. He permitted slaves a
be set free by their masters, and caused su
were thus manumitted to be distributed ar
the lower classes of the city. This excite
emulation in that depraved body of men t
serve well of their masters and the public;
tended, with the other regulations of Servi
introduce order, connection, and confidence
all the departments of government.

The king, having thus enjoyed a long r
chiefly employed in settling the domestic p
of the state, was, at the same time, not inatte
to foreign concerns. He overthrew the l
rians in many battles, triumphed over

* From this circumstance, the Romans frequently
nated their age by *lustra*, or so many periods of five
thus, when Horace, in one of his Odes, says that he h
his eighth *lustrum*, he means that he was more tl
years old.

veral times; and conceived reasonable
concluding his reign in tranquillity and
e even entertained the generous intention
down his power, and, having formed the
into a republic, to retire into obscurity;
noble design was frustrated ere it could
into execution, in a manner now to be
d.

e beginning of his reign, Servius Tullius,
to secure his throne by every precau-
d married his two daughters to the two
ns of Tarquin; and, as he knew that the
were of opposite dispositions, as well
r intended husbands, he resolved to
eir natural propensities, by giving each
of a contrary turn of temper: her that
ek and gentle, to him that was bold and
; her that was ungovernable and proud,
that was remarkable for a contrary cha-
by these means he supposed, that each
correct the failings of the other, and that
ture would be productive only of con-
d happiness. The event, however, as
have been foreseen, proved otherwise.
his haughty son-in-law, soon grew dis-
with the meekness of his consort, and
his whole affections upon Tullia, his bro-

gan by raising factions against him, alleging his illegal title to the crown; which Lucius claimed as heir to Tarquin. But Tullius, by his prudence and great moderation, defeated this design; and his conduct was universally applauded by the senate and the people; which brought Lucius to a feigned repentance on his part, and produced a real reconciliation on that of the king. Tullia, however, still urged on her husband's ambition, which was already on fire. He continued his intrigues among the senators; attaching the old to him, by putting them in mind of their obligations to his family; and the young, with gifts for the present, and promises of much greater things upon his coming to the crown. At length, when he found them ripe for seconding his views, he entered the senate-house, adorned with all the ensigns of royalty, and placing himself upon the throne, began to harangue them upon the obscurity of the king's birth, the injustice of his title, and such other topics as an unprincipled intriguer is at no loss to find or invent. While he was speaking, Servius entered, attended by a few followers, and seeing his throne thus rudely invaded, attempted to push the usurper from his seat; but Tarquin being in the vigour of youth, threw the old king down the steps which led to the throne; and some of the conspirator's adherents, being instructed for that purpose, followed the aged monarch, as he was feebly attempting to get to the palace, and dispatched him by the way, throwing his body, all mangled and bleeding, as a public spectacle, into the street. In the mean time, Tullia, burning with impatience for the event, being informed of what her husband had done

done, and resolving to be among the first who should salute him as monarch, ordered her chariot to drive to the senate-house, where her savage joy petrified the humane, and disgusted even the engines of her atrocious crimes. But they were still more shocked upon her return. As her charioteer approached the place where the body of the old king, her father, laid exposed and bloody, the man, terrified at the horrid sight, offered to turn another way; but this only served to inflame the fierceness of her rage: she threw the footstool at his head, and, shocking to relate, ordered him to drive over the dead body without hesitation.

This was the end of Servius Tullius, a prince of eminent justice and moderation, after an useful and prosperous reign of forty-four years. Though the dominions of Rome had been but little increased by him; yet they acquired a stability under his government, which far exceeded the transient splendour of an extensive but hasty conquest. In a word, no king ever better understood the art of making his power subservient to the happiness of his people; while his policy disarmed surrounding enemies, or converted them into friends or subjects.

Lucius Tarquinius, who afterwards acquired the surname of Superbus, or the Proud, having placed himself upon the throne, in consequence of this parricide, was resolved to support his dignity with the same violence with which it was acquired. Regardless of the senate or the people's approbation, he seemed to claim the crown by an hereditary right, and refused the late king the rights of sepulture, under the pretence of his being an usurper. A. C. 529.

usurper. The virtuous part of mankind, however, looked upon his accession with detestation and horror; and this act of unexampled and unnecessary cruelty only served to confirm their hatred. Conscious of this, he ordered all such as he suspected to have been attached to Servius to be put to death; and, fearing the natural consequences of his tyranny, he kept a guard of foreign mercenaries round his person, which was ready to execute his orders, however cruel or unjust.

His chief policy seems to have been to keep the people always employed, either in wars or public works, by which means he diverted their attention from his unlawful method of coming to the crown, and the manner in which he exercised his authority. With this view, he first marched against the Sabines, who refused to pay him obedience, and soon reduced them to submission. He next commenced a war with the Volsci, which continued for some ages after, and from these he took Suessa Pometia, a considerable town, about twenty-six miles east of Rome. The city of the Gabii gave him much more trouble; for, having attempted, with some loss, to besiege it, he was obliged to recur to stratagem, contrary to the usual practice of the Romans. To effectuate his designs, he caused his son Sextus to counterfeit desertion, upon pretence of barbarous usage, and to seek refuge among the inhabitants of the place. There, by artful complaints and studied lamentations, he so far excited the pity and won on the affections of the people, as to be chosen their governor, and soon after general of their army. At first in every engagement he appear-

ed

at length, finding himself en-
the confidence of the state, he
nger to his father for instruc-
ade no reply; but taking the
garden, he cut down before
poppies. Sextus readily un-
ning of this action, and on
either destroyed or removed
of the city, one by one, still
vide their effects among the
ms of plunder kept the giddy
their approaching ruin, till
elves, at last, without coun-
id in the end fell under the
without even striking a blow.
a league with the Æqui, and
h had been entered into by his
the Etrurians.

aged in wars abroad, he took
he people to languish in idle-
le undertook to build the Ca-
on of which had been laid in
d an extraordinary event con-
the execution of his design.
age attire, made her appear-
d introducing herself to the
ll nine books, which she said
omposing. Not knowing the
hor, or that she was, in fact,
ted Sibyls, whose prophecies
to fail, Tarquin refused to
this she departed, and burn-
oks, returned again, demand-
for the six remaining. Being
l as an impostor, she again
rning three more, returned

with the remainder, still asking the same
as at first. Tarquin, surprised at the in
sistency of her behaviour and the persever
of her application, consulted the augurs on
an uncommon emergency. They much bla
him for not buying the nine, and intreated
to purchase the three remaining, at whatsc
price they were to be had. The woman,
the historian, after selling and delivering
three prophetic volumes, and advising hi
pay a special regard to their contents, vani
from before him, and was never after
Tarquin chose proper persons to keep them,
though but two at first, were afterward
creased to fifteen, under the name of Qu
cemviri. These sacred books were deposit
a stone chest, and a vault in the newly-desi
building was thought the most proper pla
lodge them in safety, from which they were
only on particular emergencies. The work
carried on with great vigour; and as omen
prodigies were frequent in this ignorant ag
digging the foundations, a man's head, n
Tolus, was said to be found, which, thou
had been many years dead, still bled afresh,
he had been newly slain. This prodigy gav
building the name of Capitol (Caput Toli)
was two hundred feet long, two hundred
and almost as many broad, dedicated to Ju
as paramount divinity, but containing two
ples more, under the same roof, consecrat
Juno and Minerva. A structure so magni
was, in some measure, an indication of the
gress of arts in Rome, not less than of pi
the people. But pacific pursuits were no
ficient to draw off the attention of the Ro

rom the contemplation of the misery they suffer-
d under this tyrant, whose cupidity nothing
ould escape, whose informers swarmed every-
here, and who forbade the people to assemble
ithout his authority, lest they should conspire to
mancipate themselves from his despotism. In-
eed, day after day, he exhibited new proofs of
he tyranny of his government, and the cruelty
f his disposition. Having been for four years
mployed in building the Capitol, Tarquin
ound new occupations necessary; and accord-
ngly proclaimed war against the Rutuli, upon
trivolous pretence of their having entertained
ome malefactors whom he had banished, and
nvested their chief city Ardea, which lay about
ixteen miles from Rome. While the army was
ncamped before this place, the king's son Sex-
us, with Collatinus, a noble Roman, and some
thers, sat drinking together in a tent. The dis-
course happening to turn on the beauty and vir-
tue of their wives, each man extolling his own
with singular commendations, Collatinus offer-
ed to decide the dispute, by putting it to an im-
mediate trial, whose wife should be found pos-
sessed of the greatest beauty, and most sedu-
lously employed at that very hour. Being heat-
ed with wine, the proposal was relished by the
whole company; and taking horse without
delay, they posted to Rome, though the night was
already pretty far advanced. There they found
Lucretia, the wife of Collatinus, not like the
other women of her rank, spending her time in
ease and luxury, but spinning in the midst of
her maids, and cheerfully portioning out their
tasks. Her modest beauty, and the easy re-
ception she gave her husband and his friends,

so charmed them all, that they unanimously gave her the preference; and Sextus became so much inflamed with love, that nothing but enjoyment could satisfy his criminal passion.

To accomplish his nefarious purpose, he went from the camp to visit her privately a few days after, and received the same kind treatment which he met with before. As the innocence of Lucretia kept her blind to any insidious designs, she sat down with her guest at supper, and ordered a chamber to be got ready for him in the house. Midnight was the time in which this ruffian thought it safest to put his guilty intentions in execution. Having found means to convey himself into her chamber, he approached her bed-side with a drawn sword, and rudely laying his hand upon her bosom, threatened her with instant death, if she refused to yield to his passion. Lucretia affrighted out of her sleep, and seeing death so near, was yet inexorable to his desire, till being told, that, if she would not comply, he would first kill her, and then laying his own slave also dead by her side, he would report, that he had detected and killed them both in the act of adultery, the terror of infamy was more powerful than that of death; she consented to his desire, and the next morning the ravisher returned to the camp, exulting in his brutal victory. In the mean time Lucretia, detesting the light, and resolving not to endure even an involuntary crime, sent for her husband Collatinus, and for Spurius, her father, to come to her without delay, as an indelible disgrace had befallen the family. They instantly obeyed the summons, bringing with them Valerius, a kinsman of her father's, and Junius

nius Brutus, a reputed idiot, whose father arquin had murdered, and who had accident-ly met the messenger by the way. Their ar-val only served to increase Lucretia's poignant guish; they found her in a state of stedfast speration, and vainly attempted to give her lief by palliating the deed, to which she had en forced to be accessary. "No! (said she) never shall I find any thing worth living for in this life, after having lost my honour. You see, my Collatinus, a polluted wretch before you; one whose person has been the spoil of another, but whose affections were never es-tranged from you. Sextus, under the pre-tended veil of friendship, has this night wrest-ed from me that treasure which death only can restore; but, if you have the hearts of men, remember to avenge my cause, and let posterity know, that she who has lost her vir-tue hath only death for her best consolation." o saying, she drew a poignard from beneath r robe, and, instantly plunging it in her bosom, pired without a groan. The whole company mained for some time in the alternate emo-ons of sorrow, pity, admiration, and rage; purius and Collatinus, at length, gave vent to eir grief in tears: but Brutus drawing the oignard, reeking from Lucretia's wound, and ting it up towards heaven, "Be witness, ye Gods (he cried), that from this moment I proclaim myself the avenger of the chaste Lucretia's cause: from this moment I profess myself the enemy of Tarquin and his lustful house: from henceforth shall this life, while life continues, be employed in opposition to tyranny, and for the happiness and freedom

" of my dear country." A new amaz
seized the hearers, to find him, who had
tofore been considered as an idiot, now a
ing in his real character, the friend of j
and of Rome. He explained the mystery
ing, that tears and lamentations were unr
when vengeance called so loud; and deli
the poignard to the rest, imposed the sam
upon them, which he himself had just tak

On this illustrious character it is necess
expatiate at some length, though we find
possible to love the man. Junius Brutu
the son of Marcus Junius, a noble Romar
was married to the daughter of Tarq
Priscus, and for that reason, through a r
of jealousy, put to death by Tarquin the I
Junius had received an excellent educatior
his father, and possessed from nature, s
sense, and an inflexible attachment to v
but perceiving that Tarquin had privately
dered his father and his eldest brother,
sumed the behaviour of a fool, in orc
escape the same danger; and thence ob
the surname of Brutus. Tarquin, thinki
folly real, despised the man; and, having
possession of his estate, kept him as an i
his house, merely with a view of making
for his children. It happened, in a ti
threatened danger, that Brutus was sen
Tarquin's two sons to consult the oracle o
phi, upon the methods expedient to ave
calamity. The sons were pleased with his
pany, and laughed to see him offer his st
the shrine of Apollo; which, however, w
much more valuable present to the Goc
theirs, as it had been hollowed, and then

[illegible] this declaration, Tarquin's sons
[illegible] kiss their mother at the same time,
[illegible]reign together. Brutus, however, who
[illegible]to the real meaning of the oracle, as
[illegible] they were arrived in Italy, pretended
[illegible]tally to fall down, and kissing the earth,
her whom he considered as the general
of all. From that time, he conceived
ign of being the deliverer of his country,
expelling the tyrant Tarquin and his
family from Rome.

opportunity he had much wished for, of
ing his country from a tyrant who had
arassed it with impunity, seemed now to
ved. Brutus procured with all expedition
tes of the city to be shut, till the people
be assembled, and a public decree for
in's banishment obtained. Accordingly,
sed Lucretia's dead body to be exposed to
n the public forum; while the citizens,
n tumultuously from all quarters to see

Tarquin, in the mean time, having he
these commotions, flew with the utmost
dition to Rome, in hopes of being able tc
and punish the delinquents; but findin
gates shut, and the walls full of armed m
prepared to return, filled with indignati
the camp: but Brutus had taken care t
cipate him; for, expeditiously getting
army by another road, he acquainted the s
with what had been done in the city, Luc
unhappy fate, and how the senate and
had determined to revenge the atrocious
as well as a long train of regal crimes.
same sentiments of humanity which had im
the citizens, affected the army also.
agreed to act with their friends at home
when Tarquin came back, they refused
ceive him. Thus the tyrant, who had
reigned twenty-five years, being justly ex
his kingdom, sought a precarious asylun
his family at Cira, a little town of Etruri
the mean time, the Roman army made a
with the enemy, and Brutus was procl
deliverer of his country.

With Tarquin ended the kingly goverr
of Rome, after it had continued two hundre
forty-five years, and was still rising with
dual, but slow increase. Although, at th
of Tarquin's expulsion, the territory o
Romans was not above forty miles long
thirty broad, yet their power and popu
were immense, and they possessed that v
which bodies of a slow growth are gen
found to enjoy. The history of few natio
deed can furnish a succession of kings re
with more virtue and moderation than those
first governed in Rome; it was from their

institutions, that the people seemed to acqui
all that courage, that piety, and that patriotisr
which afterwards operated in conquering mar
kind. Their subjects undoubtedly possessed a
the rude fierceness of the times; but it mus
have been owing to the monarchs only, that thei
very enemies reaped the benefit of their vic-
tories; it must have been the general's virtue
alone that could protect those whom the soldier's
valour had subdued. The Grecian legislators
had the advantage of copying from the Egyp-
tians; but the Romans were placed in the midst
of nations far more barbarous than themselves,
and the wise regulations of their rulers, were
chiefly of their own formation. Hitherto, how-
ever, we only see the genius of the nation mak-
ing faint struggles to get free from her native
ferocity, obstructed by custom at home, and
barbarous example abroad; upon particular oc-
casions, exerting a nobleness of mind; still aim-
ing at conceived virtue, and even in infancy ma-
jestic; but nothing had yet occurred that could
give the promise of universal empire; nor did
he views and achievements of the Roman kings
xtend beyond the occasion that gave them
irth.

CHAP. III.

From the Banishment of Tarquin to the C of the Tribunes of the People.

A. C. 506. U. C. 242. BY the demerits of the family o quin and the courage and add Brutus, the regal power being thu thrown*, a form of government, nally republican, was substituted in its The senate, however, reserved by far the est share of the authority to themselve decorated their own body with all the tra of despoiled monarchy. The centuries people chose from among the senators, i of a king, two annual magistrates, whon called consuls, with power equal to that regal, and with the same privileges, ar same ensigns of authority. Though the l of the people was but very little increas this innovation, yet to it Rome afterward great measure, owed its unequalled thoug structive grandeur. In the life of a king, any individual in easy circumstances, the many periods of indolence and of passion serve to divert him from the public good

* The Tarquins seem to have been deservedly pro but that, after all their obligations to royalty, the l should have proscribed the regal authority also, would unaccountable, were it not known, that the people wh set in motion and made conscious of their power, alw into extremes, and often to their own ruin.

[illegible] to be conquered; for power en-
d behind authority is never at a loss to
victim. The people, thus kept conti-
n arms, attained the most perfect know-
f the military arts, and were better ena-
adopt the beneficial improvements of
ous nations they were led to engage.
us, the author of this revolution, and
ius, the husband of Lucretia, were the
o were raised to the dignity of consuls
ie. They immediately revived the laws
mbling the people, which had been dis-
ed during the late tyrant's reign; but,
ir newly-acquired liberty should be pre-
from degenerating into licentiousness,
officers relative to the priesthood were
ed, and new sacrifices ordained, in order
ngthen the civil power by the firmest
ns of religion. This new republic, how-
which seemed so grateful to the people,
early been destroyed in its very com-

of birth or fortune. Their party secre
creased every day, and, what may crea
surprise, were it not known that politic
mosity absorbs every feeling of nature
the sons of Brutus, and the Aquilii, the n
of Collatinus, were among the number.
quin, who was informed of these intrig
his favour, resolved to advance them by
art in his power, and accordingly sent
sadors from Etruria to Rome, under a p
of reclaiming the crown, and demandi
effects which he had left behind him;
reality with a design to give spirit to l
tion, and to draw over to it as many as
sibly could. They accordingly went o
spirit and success, holding their private
ings at the house of one of the conspi
and already the restoration of the king a
death of the consuls was resolved upon,
the whole fabric of their hopes was a
levelled in the dust. A slave, named Vind
who had accidentally hid himself in the
where the conspirators used to assemble,
hearing the conversation, laid open their c
to the consuls, who gave orders to have th
spirators secured and brought to justic
among these were found the sons of I
Few situations could have been more t
affecting than this, of a father placed as a
upon the life and death of his own chi
impelled by justice to condemn, and by
to spare them. The young men when ac

* As a reward for his fidelity, this man obtained
berty and the privileges of a Roman citizen, togethe
certain sum of money to be paid out of the public tre

ss all the softness of humanity, and all
rnings of parental affection. With a
ountenance and a tone of voice that
his fixed resolution, he demanded of
sons if they could make any defence to
nes with which they had been charged.
mand he made three several times; but
g no answer, he at length turned him-
the lictors, "Now (exclaimed he) it is
rt to perform the rest." Thus saying,
n resumed his seat with an air of de-
d majesty; nor could all the sentiments
rnal pity, the imploring looks of the
nor the dreadful situation of the young
ho were preparing for execution, alter
n decision. The executioner having
l, and then whipped the conspirators
ds, presently after beheaded them; Bru-
the time beholding the cruel spectacle
steady look and unaltered countenance,
ıe multitude gazed on with all the mingled

from the consulship, and banished Rome; Valerius, afterwards surnamed Publicola, f his regard to the people, was elected cons his room.

Frustrated in his hopes of an insurrection b excited in his favour by domestic adher Tarquin resolved to force himself upon his for throne by foreign assistance; and to that prevailed upon the Veians to assist him, with a considerable army advanced tow Rome.

The consuls were not remiss in their pr rations to oppose him. Valerius comman the foot, and Brutus the cavalry, went ou meet him on the Roman frontiers. Aruns, son of Tarquin, who headed his father's valry, seeing Brutus at a distance, was resol by one great effort, to decide the fate of day, without bringing the armies into act wherefore, spurring on his horse, he mad ward him with ungovernable fury. Bru who perceived his approach, quitted from ranks to meet him; and both began the con with such rage, that, eager only to assail, thoughtless of defending, they fell dead u the field together. A bloody battle ens with equal slaughter on both sides; but the mans, remaining in possession of the field of tle, claimed the victory; and in conseque Valerius returned in triumph to Rome. S was the end of Brutus, a man who, what praise he may deserve for emancipating country from a tyrant, possessed none of th amiable qualities that engage our affections. was of a gloomy and even splenetic disposit and from the long dissimulation he had p

m policy, became at last tainted in rea-
that mean vice. Violent in his resolu-
thing intimidated him from his purpose:
to the attachments of nature, every
s rendered subordinate to his passion
r and popularity. Such has ever been
ailing character of the factious great,
er only in their objects from the most
s profligates.

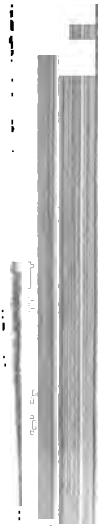
s, being thus removed without having
d his year, Valerius continued for some
enjoy the dignity without a colleague,
cited the jealousies of the people, from
rehension that he had thoughts of as-
the crown. A palace which he had
th some magnificence, upon an emi-
ugmented these suspicions; and it was
, that he had intentions of converting
fortress, in order to awe the city. Va-
owever, soon quieted their fears, by
his palace to be pulled down; and, to
e rectitude of his intentions, made se-
ws, abridging the power of the senate,
nding that of the people. By one, he
an appeal from the consuls to the
by another, he made it death for any
assume the office of magistrate without
le's consent; a third gave power to any
kill the person, unheard, who affected
me power, if he could prove the crime.
appointed questors, or treasurers, who
have the management of the public
and the care of accommodating am-
s. Still more to ingratiate himself with
ic, which is frequently directed in its
t more by appearances than reality, he

Spurius Lucretius, ...
his colleague in the consulship; ...,
short time after, was succeeded by Horat
and the time of annual election coming on
after, Valerius was chosen a second time,
with him Titus Lucretius. These having num
ed the people, they were found to amount
hundred and thirty thousand persons, be
widows and orphans.

In the mean time, Tarquin, neither int
dated by his misfortunes, nor desisting fron
pretensions, still formed alliances in order t
gain the crown. In particular, he prevailed
Porsenna, one of the kings of Etruria, t
pouse his cause, and in person undertak
quarrel. This prince, equally remarkabl
courage and conduct, marched directl
Rome, with a numerous army, and laid
to the city; while the terror of his nam
his arms filled all ranks of people with di
The senate, in this exigence, did all tha
dence could suggest, to compose the fea
satisfy the wants of the people. They o
that the populace should pay no taxes
state, during the continuance of the
leging, that they had already contribut
share, in rearing children for its defence.

* The concessions which Valerius made to sat
prejudice, only rendered the people more turbu
the event more than once endangered the republi

purchased corn in various parts of Cam-
and had it brought to Rome, to be dis-
l at a low price to people. These
nces linked the orders of the state so
together, that every citizen seemed re-
to defend his country to the last, and save
or be buried in its ruins. The siege,
r, was carried on with vigour: a furious
was made upon the place: the two con-
posed in vain, and were carried off
d from the field; while the Romans
n great consternation, were pursued by
my to the bridge, over which both vic-
d vanquished were about to enter the
mingled confusion. All now appeared
en Horatius Cocles, who had been placed
s sentinel to defend it, opposed himself
nemy, and, assisted only by two more,
e time sustained the whole fury of the
till the bridge was broken down behind
hen finding the communication thus cut
plunged with his arms into the Tiber,
ack victorious to his fellow-soldiers, and
eived with the applause which his courage
repidity so well deserved.
however, Porsenna was determined upon



of the besieged soon began to be i
and all things seemed to menace a
struction, when another act of br
superior to that which had saved the
finally accomplished its safety and f

Mutius Cordus, a youth of undaun
conceived the heroic design of freei
try from the enemy or perishing in t
For this purpose, disguised in the
Etrurian peasant, and armed with
he entered the camp of the Etrurian
up to the place where Porsenna was
troops, with a secretary by his sid
taking the latter for the king, he s
to the heart, and being immediately
ed was brought back into the roy
Upon Porsenna's demanding who
the cause of so heinous an action, M
out reserve, acknowledged his cou
design, and at the same time thrust
hand into a fire that burnt upon an
him, "You see (cried he) how litt
"the severest punishment your cr
"flict upon me. A Roman knows
"and how to suffer: I am not the
"you have to fear; three hundred o
"youth, like me, have conspired y
"tion—therefore prepare for thei
Porsenna, awed by his intrepidity,
ing too noble a mind himself not
bravery and virtue though found i
ordered him to be safely conduct
Rome, and fired with an enthusia
tion of a country that produced s
offered them conditions of peace.
now readily accepted on their sid

hard nor disgraceful, except that twenty
s were demanded ;—ten young men, and
r virgins, of the best families in Rome.
n in this instance also, as if the softer
e resolved to evince an equal degree of
with the other, Clelia, one of the hos-
scaping from her guards, and pointing
way to the rest of her female compa-
swam across the Tiber on horseback,
showers of darts from the enemy, and
unhurt. Immediately presenting her-
the consul, this magistrate, fearing the
ences of detaining her, ordered her to
back ; upon which, Porsenna, that he
ıot be excelled in generosity, not only
r her liberty, but permitted her to choose
the hostages of the male sex, as she
hink fit to attend her. On her part, she,
the modesty of a Roman virgin, selected
were under fourteen, alleging, that
ıder age was least capable of sustaining
urs of confinement.

uin beheld with chagrin and despair the
ıce that was thus forming between Por-
ıd the Romans ; and fearful lest his inte-
ɔuld be wholly sacrificed, projected the
of Clelia and her companions on their
:k, judging that such an act of violence
ekindle the almost extinguished flames of
From an ambuscade he attacked the
which, though weak and taken by sur-
efended themselves long enough to re-
sistance from a detachment of the Etru-
ır rather Clusians. Porsenna himself
ɔ, and this perfidious action estranged
ever from the Tarquins. He retired
from

from the Roman territory without exacting fro
them any conditions; and, knowing them to
in the greatest necessity, with equal generosi
and delicacy, he ordered his soldiers to leave
the provisions in the camp, and presented Cle
with a beautiful horse superbly caparisone
The Romans, to evince their gratitude, raise
statue to Porsenna, and sent him an ivory cha
a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumph
robe. Mutius, surnamed Scævola, or the *le*
handed, from his being incapacitated from usi
his right, received also both useful and hono
able presents from the republic. The reme
brance of the generosity of Porsenna was tra
mitted from age to age, by the form establish
in the sale of public effects, which a herald p
nounced by saying, "These are the effects
Porsenna."

Few remarkable transactions happened a
this for about five years, if we except seve
victories obtained over the Sabines, who w
obliged to purchase a peace. The consuls,
deed, obtained two triumphs over them, and
first ovation that had been seen in Rome, wh
differed from a triumph in these respects, t
in an ovation, the general entered the city
foot, and not in a chariot; that he was met o
by the knights and patricians, and not by
senators in their robes; that his dress was
magnificent, and that his crown, instead of be
composed of laurel, was made of myrtle. Post
mius, who overcame the Sabines, was the f
to whom was decreed this lesser kind of triumph
because his success had not been obtained but
the expence of a former defeat. Some other

to

subdued and unshaken; the charms of
y still maintained unabated dominion over
art. By means of his son-in-law, Mani-
s stirred up the Latins to espouse his in-
and took the most convenient opportu-
when the plebeians and senators were
d amongst each other, to make head
t Rome. After having united twenty-
wns in his confederacy abroad, by large
he also found means to win over a very
ful party of the poorer sort of Roman citi-
who indeed had many real causes of dis-
t to disgust them, and to which they
l only a moderate stimulus to give vent.

Romans, under their kings, had only
ays of subsisting—by agriculture and by
r: in short, they lived either by labour
ir own lands, or by reaping the harvests
had been sown by their enemies. Soon,
er, after the expulsion of the royal family,

r money upon usury; and, as interest was
tant, it only served to increase his wretch-
s. The laws also of Rome permitted the
tor to seize the person of the insolvent
or, and to employ him as a slave, till the
was paid: this complication of misery soon
ted the murmurs of the poor, till from en-
ities they proceeded to menaces. The at
apt of Tarquin to regain the crown, seeme
them a favourable conjuncture to regain tho
ghts, of which they had been insensibly
rived. When the consuls therefore began
evy men in order to oppose him, to their g
mazement, all the poor, and all who were la
with debt, refused to enlist, declaring, that t
who enjoyed the advantages of peace migh
dergo the fatigues of war; but that, for
part, they were wearied with exposing
lives for nothing; or, for what was still
for masters who undervalued their labour
only rioted upon their distress. They a
ledged no city nor country, they said,
would not give them protection; and, b
ing Rome, they only left behind them t
series, their oppressors, and their debts
therefore insisted, that their debts shoul
celled by a decree of the senate, as
means of inducing them to take the fie
At first, the senate endeavoured to
the populace by gentle methods; b
these unsuccessful, they instituted a
quiry into the causes of complain
means by which they might best b
Some urged a free remission of all d
safest and securest method at th
painted the dangerous con

ion, advising, that only such
ed as thought fit to give in their
t the rest should be treated with
length, they came to the resolu-
he impending evil by delay, and
rder, that no debtor should be
g the continuance of the war.
wever, to whom the senate of-
nsion as a favour, refused it with
contempt. They knew that this
ming that grievance which would
them with increased severity;
the approach of the enemy had
ie senate what they would resume
rors should be over, and these
made them persist in their de-
number of the malcontents in-
iour; and many of the citizens,
er poor nor involved in debt, en-
iews and supported the claims of
s, either from a consciousness of
their demands, or from the na-
nich all men have to brook their

ence, therefore, the senate, who
mwealth upon the brink of ruin,
o an expedient, which, though
ie present emergency, in a course
fatal to the republic of Rome.
nding their authority insufficient,
ple to elect a temporary magis-
ld have absolute power, not only
of the state, but even over the
s. The plebeians, who held the
rence, readily consented, willing
own power for the sake of abridg-
ing

ing that of their superiors; and Titus was created the first dictator* of Rome was this high officer called), being nom it by his colleague in the consulship. people, who could not bear even to name of king mentioned, readily submi magistrate possessed of unlimited po much do names impose on the judgm so little is any form of government the dislike when it coincides with popular pr This was the first intermission of the power, about ten years after it had be blished.

Lartius being thus created dictator, a Spurius Cassius master of the horse, and upon his office, surrounded with his lict all the ensigns of ancient royalty. Seate upon a throne in the midst of the people he ordered the levies to be made, and hi mandate was obeyed without reluctanc populace looked with awe and reverenc magistrate whom they had invested wit trollable power, and each went peac range himself under his respective s The Latins, being informed of this in

* To be dictater, it was necessary to have been f and the power of that magistrate could only l months; during which, however, he nominated t offices, assumed the command of the army, or bes the master or general of the cavalry, whom he no his entrance into office. In a word, he was absolute the destinies of his country, nor was he responsib part of his conduct, after he retired from office. T strictions to which he was subject were, that he permitted to leave Italy, and that he could n his horse without having first obtained the consen people!

rev

on, which strengthened the hands of
nent to such an amazing degree, began
ll the expectations which they had con-
from its divisions. They accordingly
proper to listen to an accommodation,
as proposed on the side of Rome, and a
as agreed upon between them for a year.
who had been sent to oppose the ene-
urned with his army to Rome; and be-
months were expired, the time limited
office, he laid down the dictatorship,
reputation of having exercised this high
vith lenity and moderation.
mstances, however, required that the
ming there should be another dictator;
ind Posthumius invested with that office,
ding out the Romans to prosecute the
h the Latins, upon the expiration of the
tween them. We are told, that, coming
them near the lake Regillus, he gave
complete overthrow, though they were
double his number; and that scarcely a
of their army escaped alive from the

It would be uninteresting, however,
ious, to give the particulars of the va-
gagements of this warlike people in the
of their empire, while valour alone, ra-
an conduct, decided the fortune of the

was the last despairing effort of the Tarquins. The
of the expelled prince were all brave, and adopted
resolution of recovering their father's kingdom, or
n the field. After performing prodigies of valour,
among the dead, and with them the last hopes of
ank also to rise no more. He now retired to
Aristodemus, in Campania, where he died, at the
age of ninety years.

day. In this battle, however, we are to
the dictator cast one of the ensigns amc
enemy, to incite his men to a bold atter
its recovery: we are told also, that the
were ordered to be taken off the horses, tl
might charge with greater fury. Gener
could give such directions might have be
men, but, according to our ideas, woul
proved very bad commanders. Never
they fought against an enemy more ig
than themselves; so that the Latins, a
ledging their superiority, implored a tru
more, and the dictator, after a triump
down his authority, as in the former case.

The soldiers, having returned from th
in triumph, had some reason to expect a
sion of their debts, and to enjoy that saf
themselves which they had procured for tl
lic. Contrary to their hopes, howeve
courts of justice were opened against ther
the prosecution of creditors revived witl
than usual severity. This soon excite
murmurs; and the senate, who were not
sible that they were deserved, in order
prepared, chose Appius Claudius, a n
austere manners, a strict observer of th
and of unshaken intrepidity, for one of tl
suls the year ensuing: but, at the same ti
temper his severity, they gave him for a col
Servilius, a man of a humane and gentle
sition, and as much beloved by the popu
Appius was the object of their aversion.
the complaints of the people therefore c
be deliberated upon, these two magistra
it may be supposed, were entirely of op
opinions. Servilius, commiserating the dis

the poor, was for abolishing all debts, or at
t for diminishing the interest upon them.
ius, on the other hand, with his natural se-
ty, insisted that the laws of his country should
nviolably observed, and that lightening the
from those who owed money was but
wing it upon those to whom it was due.
t it would be encouraging the extravagant
the idle, at the expence of the industrious
the frugal; and that every new compliance
the senate, as had been evidenced before,
d but increase the insolent demands of the
le.

ie citizens, being apprised of the discordant
nents of their consuls, in regard to their
laints, loaded Servilius with every mark of
ude, while they every-where pursued Ap-
vith threats and imprecations. They began
emble afresh, to hold secret cabals by
, and to meditate some new revolution,
an unlooked-for spectacle of distress roused
eir passions, and at once fanned their
ed resentment into flame.

Roman soldier, decrepit and aged, laden
chains, yet shewing in his air the marks of
days, sought an asylum in the midst of the
e, as they were assembled on a public oc-
. He was covered with rags; his face was
and wasted with famine; his beard, which
ng and neglected, and his hair in wild dis-
rendered his appearance still more ghastly
h interesting. He was known, however,
a gallant man, who had often been valiant
field; he shewed the scars which he had
ed in battle, and the marks of recent
, which still continued bleeding. The

compassion of the multitude was warmly excited at this sad spectacle, but much more when he told them his story. Having borne arms in the last war against the Sabines, his little patrimony was not only neglected, but the enemy had plundered his substance, and set his house on fire. In this situation he was forced for subsistence to contract debts, and then obliged to sell his inheritance to discharge them; but a part still remaining unpaid, his unfeeling creditor had dragged him to prison, where he was not only laden with chains, but torn with the whips of the executioner, who was ordered to torment him. This account, and his wounds, which were still fresh, produced an instantaneous uproar among the people; they flew to take revenge not only on the delinquent, but on the general body of their oppressors. Appius had the good fortune to find safety by flight. Servilius, laying aside the marks of consular power, threw himself into the midst of the tumult, entreated, flattered, commanded them to patience; engaged to have their wrongs redressed by the senate; promised that he himself would zealously support their cause: and in the mean time, to convince them of the sincerity of his intentions, made proclamation, that no citizen should be arrested for debt until the senate should issue further directions.

The influence of Servilius, for this time, served, in some measure, to appease the murmurs of the people; and the senate was going to begin their deliberations, when word was brought that an army of Volscians was marching directly towards Rome. This was an event which the populace had wished with the most ardent

xpectation; and they now resolved to nobles see, how little the power of the ils when unsupported by the strength of titude. Accordingly, when the levy be made, they unanimously refused to while those who had been imprisoned for ewing their chains, asked, with an in- mile, "whether these were the weapons ich they were to face the enemy."

, in this state of anarchy within, and of ed invasion from without, was upon the ruin, when Servilius, who, in the capa- onsul, was to command the army, once ewed his entreaties with the people, not him in this exigence. To soothe them e, he issued a new edict, that no citizen e imprisoned during the continuance of ; and assured them, that, upon their they should have plenary redress of their es. By these conciliatory measures, as y the affection which the people had to n, he once more prevailed. The citi- ne in crowds to enrol themselves under nand; he led them to meet the enemy, ed a complete victory. But of all those wed their courage in the engagement, ors and former malcontents were the nspicuous. Servilius, to recompense avery, gave them the plunder of the camp, without reserving, as was usual, of it for the treasury; and this act of nificence offending the avaricious and l-strong senate, induced them, upon his o refuse him the honours of a triumph, e people, however, in defiance of oppo- ecreed him.

The terrors of the enemy being thus rem
the former cruelties were renewed. A
still fierce and uncomplying, again auth
the creditors to renew their severity, ar
debtors were dragged to prison, and insul
before. In vain did they implore the assi
of Servilius, who, mild and flexible, re
too much of his power to Appius. In vi
they claim the promises made them by t
nate; for that body, deaf to their cries
debtors pursued, even into the forum, by
merciless creditors, and prevented only
multitude from being dragged to prison.
approach of an enemy, still more numerou
that which had been lately conquered, re
the acrimony of their vengeance. The S
the Æqui, and the Volscians, as if willing
cond the views of the people, again made
irruption, while the citizens absolutely
to enlist, till their grievances were com
removed.

The commonwealth being in this dar
situation, the senate was obliged to have r
to the usual method of redress, by cre
dictator. Appius, who advised the m
hoped that he should have been chosen;
senate, sensible of his unpopularity and vi
chose Manlius Valerius, an ancient sen
man of a mild and merciful character,
loved by the people, and descended fr
great deliverer whose name he bore. V
who secretly inclined to the plebeian party
Quintus, the brother of their great idol
lius, for his master of the horse; and,
bling the others, assured them, that
would follow him freely, their grievances

was so much revered by the people, that
ot only dreaded its resentment, but seemed
ik its promises binding. They therefore
d themselves at his order, and, marching
t the enemy, quickly reduced them to sub-
; such lands as had been taken from them
divided among the soldiers, according to
ict.

n his return, the Dictator requested the
to perform what he had so solemnly
d his word to obtain: but Appius, still
ite, refused to comply, reproaching him
mean condescension to the multitude,
inging over the majority of the senate to
inion. Valerius, therefore, finding he was
to contend with so powerful a body, laid
his office, alleging, that it was time for
man of seventy to consult his ease rather
o form an unavailing opposition.

these reiterated breaches of faith the peo-

solved still to keep them in the field, under pr
tence that the enemy was yet unsubdued, an
preparing for new invasions. In this exigenc
the soldiers were at a loss how to act; the mil
tary oath, which they had taken upon enlistin
forbade their laying down their arms, or forsa
ing their standards; and yet their recent inj
ries restrained them from taking the field. Stee
ing however between both extremes, they r
solved to quit a city which gave them no pr
tection, and to form a new establishment wit
out its limits. They, therefore, removed the
ensigns, changed their commander, and, unde
the conduct of a plebeian, named Sicinius Bell
tus, retired to a mountain, from thence calle
the Mons Sacer, on the banks of the river Ani
about three miles from Rome.

The news of this defection filled the city wit
tumult and consternation; those who wishe
well to the people made all the attempts the
could to scale the walls, in order to join it, fo
the gates were shut by the senate's direction
The fathers, who had sons among the mutineer
reproached their degeneracy; wives lamente
the absence of their husbands; and all appre
hended a civil war. The senate was not less ag
tated than the rest; some were for violent mea
sures, and repelling force by force, at the hea
of whom was Appius; others were of opinion
that gentler arts were to be used, and that eve
a victory over such enemies would be worse tha
a defeat. At length, the milder alternative pre
vailing, it was resolved to send a messenger en
treating the people to return home, and declare
their grievances, promising, at the same time,
an oblivion of all that had passed. This mes-
sage

ated by the army with disdain; so
te were now to begin afresh to con-
roper steps to be taken, and, in this
hat would be the least evil of the

gly, after choosing new consuls,
ot done without difficulty, they en-
the deliberation with an earnestness
importance of the cause. Menenius
ie of the wisest and best of the se-
of opinion, that the people were to
in their reasonable wishes; because
dominions could neither be extended
ed without their active assistance.
ctator Valerius seconded his opinion,
nth unusual to one of his gentle tem-
anced age. He upbraided the senate
uplicity, and urged the necessity of
sharing those advantages which the
letermined to engross. Appius, on
and, still adhering to his despotic
leclaimed with great violence against
smallest concessions to the multi-
observed, that if they granted to the
en enemies, what they had refused
friends, it would be an argument of
and not their justice; that the young
nd their clients were still able to de-
y, even though its ungrateful inha-
uld desert it; that the multitude ne-
where to stop in its demands, and
concession would be productive of
s and louder importunities. The body
tors, to whom chiefly the people were
ily wanted the speciousness of such
to cover their avarice; those of the
younger

courage in debate, saw the necessity there
for complying with the people, in order to
vent such violent measures as the senate w
hastening into, for that day, broke up the
sembly; at the same time intimating to
younger part of the senators, that, if they
not behave with more moderation for the futu
a law should be preferred, preventing all un
a certain age from being admitted into tha
lustrious body.

This threat had its effect at their next m
ing, where, notwithstanding the stubborn op
sition of Appius, and the terrible blow that
about to be given to the fortunes of many of
members, it was resolved to enter into a tre
with the people, and to make them such of
as should induce them to return to their a
giance and their homes. Ten commissior
were accordingly deputed, at the head of wh
were Lartius and Valerius, who had been di
tors; and Menenius Agrippa, equally loved
the senate and the people. The dignity and
popularity of these ambassadors procured th
a very respectable reception among the soldi
and a long conference commenced betw
them. Lartius and Valerius employed all th
oratory on the one hand; while Sicinius and J
cius Junius, who were the spokesmen of the
diery, aggravated their distresses with all t
masculine eloquence which natural ability a
the sense of injury inspire. The conference c
tinued for a long time, when Menenius Agrip
who had been originally a plebeian, a shrew
faceti

its own, they all, with common consent,
d to revolt against the belly: they knew
ion, they said, why they should toil from
ng till night in its service, while the belly,
mean time, lay at its ease in the midst of
ll, and indolently grew fat upon their la-
accordingly, they agreed to support it no
The feet vowed they would carry it no
: and the teeth averred they would not
a morsel of meat, though it were placed
n them. Thus resolved, they for some
hewed their spirit, and kept their resolu-
out soon they found, that, instead of mor-
the belly by these means, they only un-
emselves; they languished for a while, and
red, when too late, that it was owing to
ly that they had strength to work, or cou-
mutiny."
s fable, the application of which is ob-
had an instantaneous effect upon the peo-
Then unanimously cried out that Agrippa

who should have power to plead the
community, and to redress the injur

The people, who are ever biassed
nion of the last speaker, highly ap
proposal, which however the commi
not authority to comply with; the
sent to Rome to receive the instruc
senate, who, distracted with intesti
and harassed by complaints from w
resolved to have peace, at whatso
should be obtained. Accordingly, a
voice, they consented to the creati
description of officers, who were ca
*of the People**. Appius alone pro
vehemence against the adoption of t
as he had from the commencement
contest.

The tribunes of the people were
in number, though afterwards the
increased by the addition of five n
were always annually elected by the
generally from their body. They ha
of annulling all such decrees of t
they considered inimical to the pe
shew their readiness to protect the r
to receive complaints as they occ
doors stood open night and day.
had their seats placed before the

* The terms of peace which were now ratif
"That the tribunes of the people should be e
servile offices to which citizens were otherwis
no one should strike him, or cause him to be st
If any one infringed this law, he should be de
his property confiscated to the service of the
and if any one killed a tribune, any person shou
to take off the murderer."

senate-house; and being called in, they proceeded to examine every decree, annulling it by the word *veto, I forbid it*; or confirming it by signing the letter *T*, which gave it validity. Their persons were to be sacred; and, though they were not distinguished by any of the ensigns of office, such as the curule chair, or the lictors who attended upon other magistrates, yet their power was greatly superior, having a negative vote upon all decrees of the senate. They were, however, to have no authority without the walls of the city; and it was unlawful for them to be absent from it a day: but what still more diminished their power was, that any one of their number could put a negative upon the measures of the rest; and this was afterwards found the most artful method of opposing them; for one gained over to the senate, rendered the attempts of the rest abortive. In short, they proved the bane of the public peace, and often occasioned greater disorders than they were elected to suppress.

This new office being thus instituted, Sicinius Bellutus, Lucius Junius, Caius Licinius, Albinus, and Icilius Ruga, were the first tribunes chosen by the suffrages of the people. The senate also made an edict confirming the abolition of debts: and now all things being adjusted on both sides, the people, after having sacrificed to the Gods of the sacred mountain, returned in triumph to Rome. A. C. 490. U. C. 258.

CHAP. IV.

From the Creation of the Tribunes to the Commencement of the Decemviral Office.

HITHERTO we have seen the people str gling against the exorbitant power of senate; but now commences a period in wh the senate had to contend against the increa power of the people; a period in which the ter, beginning to feel their own force, and be put into motion, like an increasing torrent, b down all before them with irresistible violen The first advantage the tribunes obtained, a permission to choose from among the peo two annual officers, as assistants in the fatig of their duty. These were called Ædiles, part of their business consisted in taking car the public buildings, aqueducts, and sewers; likewise in determining some causes, that hitherto been subject to the cognizance of consuls only. They were to notice those held more land than the laws allowed them curb all public immoralities, and abolish sances; to provide corn and oil in times of mine, and to prevent any monopolies which avaricious might be tempted to make to the lic detriment. The people, having obtained t vast privileges, and all their clamours be hushed, now marched against the Volsci and tiates; took Corioli, one of their chief tow and soon after overthrew the enemy with g slaugh

ghter. In this battle Marcius, afterwards
amed Coriolanus, particularly distinguished
self. This man was of a patrician family,
, proud of rank and success, beheld with in-
nation the encroachments of the tribunes;
an opportunity was soon offered of avowing
principles.

The people, being rendered more turbulent
the condescension of the senate, and by a
mph over the enemy, soon after found
ther occasion to shew their aptitude to cla-
ur. During the late secession, tillage had
n entirely neglected, and a famine was the
sequence, the ensuing season. The senate
all that lay in their power to remedy the
; but the people, pinched with want, and
ling to throw the blame on any but them-
es, ascribed the whole of their distress to the
rice of the patricians; who, having purchased
the corn, as was alleged, intended to indem-
themselves for the abolition of debts, by
ling it at an enhanced price. But this was
all that was laid to their charge. The se-
e, in order to lessen the number of citizens in
s time of famine, had sent many of them to
litræ, a city of the Volscians, which had lately
n much depopulated by a plague. This ex-
ed an universal clamour among the people,
ich the tribunes took care to aggravate. Ac-
dingly they urged that this was only an art-
method of removing such citizens as were
noxious to the nobles; that it was little else
n banishing the bravest men of the state
thout an offence; and thus, by weakening the
ength of the people, to increase their own.
ese reports being industriously propagated,

an assembly was called, in which the consul
the tribunes by turns harangued the peopl
contest managed with so much impetuosi
both sides, every moment grew warmer
consuls insisted, that the tribunes had no
to address the assembly; the tribunes, o
other hand, asserted that their office was sa
and that they ought not to be impeded in
duty. In this the people unanimously co
red; for whatever their leaders thought
propose, they were ready to ratify: a law,
fore, was made, that no man should dare
terrupt the tribunes while they spoke to the
ple; a law, which greatly increased their p
as now, from taking the assembly's instruc
they were authorised to direct them.

The city, after this, enjoyed a transient c
some of the people retired to their hou
support famine with patience and resigna
while others made incursions upon the en
and returned with the spoil. But abund
soon after renewed in them that turbu
which the continuance of the famine ha
pressed, but not removed. A large fleet of
laden with corn from Sicily, a great pa
which was a present from Gelon, the ki
that island, to the Romans, and the rest
chased by the senate with the public m
raised their spirits once more, and inflamed
eagerness for dissension. When it came
debated in the senate, in what manner this
supply should be distributed, violent div
arose. Some were for supplying the poore
with a sufficient quantity gratis; others
for selling it at a low price, and thus to
burse the treasury; but when it came t

...wn (exclaimed he) do we suf-
...se the state divided between two pow-
...ose dissensions only serve to harass it
...ore? Can we tamely bear to see
...s give laws in Rome, and rule with
...rolled power, when we could not stoop
...s? If the factious and turbulent are
...ng to live at Rome, let them retire
...ore to the sacred mountain; it is bet-
to govern, if we must share our com-
...with the dregs of the people." A speech
...natory, and so violent, rekindled all the
dissension. The multitude, in the fury
...esentment, would have fallen upon the
...dy of the senate; but the tribunes re-
...their rage, and directed it to Coriola-
...m they condemned to be thrown from
...eian rock, the usual punishment of
Nevertheless he remained unshaken:
...d made him intrepid, frugal, and in-
and to these dispositions he added the

every quarter, and a civil war threatened to en-
sue, had not the consuls promised the people
the most ample redress. The tribunes insisted
that Coriolanus should suffer condign punish-
ment, as a rebel and a contemner of the sacred
authority of the Roman people: they were even
going to seize his person, but the patricians
again rescued him.

A conduct so resolute on one side, and so a
suming on the other, in some measure kept t
populace in suspense: they felt a reluctance
assist the tribunes against those who had t
their generals and their captains, and g
upon the contest with trembling irresolu
Their backwardness, therefore, to lend
ance, began to excite suspicions in the tri
that they had proceeded with too muc
lence; and, in consequence, they dema
bring the accused to trial before the asse
the people, and that his case should b
before that authority, from which the
appeal. The patricians, who, though
innocence of Coriolanus, were
the city, consented;
his defen

m from each other, and ordering
ld give their votes separately, and
es, as since the time of Hostilius
en the custom. This, as has been
narked, was depriving the patri-
eir influence, since the numbers of
were sure to prevail: however, the
ng to identify the cause of Corio-
ir own, at last consented to this
er in the plebeians; but, to make
ending him to the last, the consul
nted the rostrum in his favour, in-
ie services he had done the state;
w words, escaping in the heat of
to be attended to; and concluded
that the whole senate were peti-
cause, and desired the tribunes,
d closely adhere to their promised
; namely, his aiming at sovereign
this Sicinius the tribune replied,
urge against the guilty, all things,
or description, that should tend
guilty; that the state had too
from his influence, and his number
: to use every means of bringing
; that he owed much more to the
republic, than to any vain com-
he senate; and that the very at-
ess the power of the people, who
ht to govern themselves, was a
lanus, upon this, presented him-
: people, with a degree of intre-
rited the highest admiration. His
n, his manly eloquence, joined to
ose whom he had saved from the
ed the auditors to relent. He
began

began by recounting all the battles he had f
and the different posts he had sustaine
shewed the various crowns which had
given him by his generals, as rewards
merit; and exposed to view the numl
wounds he had received in acquiring the
related all the breaches he had entered, a
the lives he had saved, calling out to s
were present, to bear witness to the truth
recital. "Speak (said he), you whom
"served in trouble! And do you come fo
"whom I have rescued from the fetters
"enemy, and presented with liberty and
These, with the most moving protestatio
treated their friends to spare that life by
they lived; and, if there were to be an o
for public resentment, they themselves
ready to die for him.

A defence like this, supported with a
boldness which conscious innocence in
moved every hearer with a wish to pardon;
cried out, that so brave a man deser
triumph, not death; and that his very tri
a national disgrace. The giddy though
multitude were going therefore to absolve
when Decius, one of the tribunes, a n
fluent eloquence, rose up to reply. "In
"ever manner (cried he) we may be pre
"by the senate from urging those speeches
"were made amongst that august body, t
"to destroy the privileges of the people, y
"we are not unprovided: we decline
"vating what Coriolanus has said; we
"facts, which we call upon the accused t
"himself of. We have an ancient law an
"us, that all plunder, taken from the e

memories of Antium, though his slaves, cattle, and provisions, was at, yet the public were neither the r the richer for it: it was divided is friends and followers; men whom, , he only intended to enrich, to be er able to secure our ruin. It has n the practice of tyrants to begin of ambition, by forming a numerous partisans, who are willing to lose gard in private emolument. Here, ground our charge; let him, if he y the fact; and let him bring proofs, ainly shewing his scars, but by con- us of his innocence." This charge ly unexpected: Coriolanus had, in the people refused to enlist, issued ead of his clients, and plundered the o had made incursions up to the very ome. These spoils, which were so d, he never thought of bringing into

and Coriolanus was condemned to perpetu exile.

Never did the fickle populace testify a sincer joy, even in triumphing over a vanquished en my, than they did upon this occasion, having a manner totally annihilated the power of t senate; since henceforward they assumed a rig of summoning any of the individuals of th body before them, whom they thought proj to accuse. The senate, on the other hand, s themselves reduced to an abject dependence up the multitude; deprived of all security to th persons, and all their former rights of bei judged by their compeers. This sentence agai their bravest defender struck their whole bo with sorrow, consternation, and dismay. C riolanus alone, in the midst of the tumult, see ed an unconcerned spectator. He return home, followed by the lamentations of hundr of the most respectable senators and citizens Rome, to take a lasting leave of his wife, children, and his mother Veturia. While th in the first transports of sorrow, hung rou him in agony at parting, he, with a manly f titude, tore himself from their embraces; horting them to bear their fate with fortitu and to think of him no more. Then reco mending his children to their care, and all to protection of Heaven, he left the city, attend by the senate to the very gates, to take refu among the enemies of Rome. In this manr the plebeians, who had obtained tribunes mer for their own defence, employed those very m gistrates to annoy others; and, by insensible d grees, stripped the patricians of all their form privileges. So common it is for slaves to b

cor

s, and the persecuted to be scourges

is, an outcast from his country, for a safe retreat than for an opportunity of vengeance. All his fortitude, and the ations of his mother, were not able he resentment of his wrongs, or his unishing his enemies, even though it s country in ruin. Tullus Attius, a at power among the Volsci, and a ny to the Romans, seemed to him a nt to assist his revenge. Resolving him, he enters Antium, the city is commanded, by night; and, going his house, seated himself near the the household gods; a place which, ion of the country, was held sacred. ig informed that a stranger, with an ity far beyond what was common, refuge in his house, came and des name and business. "My name Roman) is Caius Marcius: my surCoriolanus; the only reward that re- all my services. I am banished r being a friend to it; I am come to ge here, where I have ever been an If you are willing to make use of ces, you shall find me grateful: if willing to revenge the injuries I have , behold me prepared."

struck with the dignity and known Coriolanus, stretched out his hand f amity, and instantly espoused his he first thing therefore to be done was he Volsci to break the league which made with Rome; in order to effect

fect this, and yet preserve the semblance of justice, Tullus sent many of his citizens to Rome, to attend some games at that time celebrating; but in the mean time gave the senate private information, that the strangers had conceived the dangerous design of burning the city. This stratagem had the desired effect; and the senate issued an order, that all strangers should depart from Rome before sun-set. Tullus, on the other hand, represented this order to his countrymen, as an infraction of the treaty, and procured an embassy to be sent to Rome, complaining of the breach of hospitality; and re-demanding all the territories belonging to the Volscians, of which they had been violently dispossessed; declaring war in case of a refusal. This message was treated by the senate with contempt; they bade the ambassadors inform their countrymen, that menaces could not intimidate the Romans, who would keep with their swords those possessions which their valour had won: and should the Volscians be the first to take up arms, the Romans would be the last to lay them down.

War being thus declared on both sides, Coriolanus and Tullus were appointed generals of the Volscians, and accordingly invaded the Roman territories, ravaging and laying waste all such lands as belonged to the plebeians, but suffering those of the senators to remain untouched. In the mean time, the levies went on but slowly at Rome: the two consuls, who were re-elected by the people, seemed but little skilled in war, and even feared to encounter a general whom they knew to be their superior in the field. The allies also evinced their fears, and slowly brought in their succours; so that Coriolanus continued

to

ke their towns one after the other. Circum,
oman colony, first submitted to his arms;
en attacked the Latins, who vainly implored
tance from Rome. The towns of Tole-
, Lavici, Pes, and Bola, were all taken by
n; their goods plundered, and the inha-
nts made prisoners of war: such as yielded
treated mildly; such as resisted were put
e sword. Fortune favoured him in every
dition; and he was now so famous for his
ries, that the Volsci left their towns defence-
to follow him into the field; being assured,
r his conduct, of success. The very soldiers
is colleague's army came over to him, and
ld acknowledge no other general. Thus
ng himself unopposed in the field, and at
head of a numerous army, he at length
ed his camp almost under the very walls of
e.

he city which had lately been so turbulent
haughty, exhibited nothing but timidity
despair. The people, who from the walls
ld the enemy ravaging their fields, beg-
peace with tears and supplications. They
n to entreat the senate to recal the edict
h had banished Coriolanus, and acknow-
ed the injustice of their former proceed-

The senate despised such meanness, re-
ng, if possible, not to betray the injustice
e state to foreign enemies, or to grant those
rs to an actual traitor, which they had de-
him when only accused of treasonable de-
. Yet what could their resolutions avail,
they had not power to support them? Co-
nus approached nearer every day, and at
nvested the city, fully resolved to besiege
It was then that the fierce spirit of the pa-

ns was entirely subdued: both the senate a
eople unanimously agreed to send deputies
with proposals of restoration, in case he shou
off his army. Coriolanus received them wi
ghtiness, obliged them to pass through a li
armed men, and to submit to whatever w
st mortifying to Romans. He inform
m, with the utmost severity, that he was n
neral of the Volscians, and had only their
rest to consider: that, if they hoped for pea
ey must restore all the towns which origina
elonged to that people, and make them free
he city, as the Latins were: "And as for my
(said he), do you imagine that a mere recal will
"a sufficient atonement for the insults I have
"ceived, while it still remains in the powe
"such wretches as Sicinius and Decius to ar
"vile populace against me? No! Rome, lik
"cruel step-mother, has heaped injuries an
"dignities upon a son who had no other
"bition but to sacrifice himself for her g
"She will now learn by the sequel, whethe
"gods espouse her cause or mine—Depe
"allow you thirty days, at the expirati
"which period you shall see me once more
"these walls, to receive your determin
The intermediate space he employed in
several more towns from the Latins;
cording to his promise returned, and a
camped his army before the walls of R

Another embassy was now sent fo
juring him not to exact from his na
aught but what became Romans to gr
riolanus, however, naturally inflexible a
and irritated into revenge, still persi
former demands, and granted them

days' longer grace, in which to finish their deliberations. A message so peremptory filled the whole city with consternation. Every one ran to take arms; some posted themselves upon the ramparts; others watched the gates, lest they should be secretly delivered up by the partisans which Coriolanus had within; others fortified their houses, as if the enemy were already masters of the walls. In this general confusion, there was neither discipline nor command. The consuls, whose fears were their only advisers, had been elected for very different merits than those of skill in war. The tribunes, lately so fierce, were now struck dumb; all shared the universal terror; and it seemed as if the boasted courage of Rome had migrated, with their general, into the camp of the Volscians. In this exigence, all that was left was another deputation, still more solemn than either of the former, composed of the pontiffs, the priests, and the augurs. These, clothed in their habits of ceremony, and with a grave and mournful deportment, issued from the city, and entered the camp of the conqueror: they besought him by all that was sacred, by the respect he owed the gods, and that which he might have for those who, being servants of the gods, were now at his feet, to give peace to his country. These appeals were made wholly in vain. Coriolanus testified that respect for the deputation which the sanctity of their characters demanded; but sent them away without in the least relaxing in his demands.

When the people saw them return without making the least impression on his heart, they began to give up the commonwealth as lost. Their

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Their temples were filled with old mer
women and children, who, prostrate at thei
put up their ardent prayers for the prese
of their country. Nothing was to be hea
anguish and lamentation; nothing to h
but scenes of affright and distress. At l
it was suggested to them, that what cou
be effected by the intercession of the sen
the abjuration of the priests, might be b
about by the tears of his wife, or the
tunities of his mother. This idea seemec
relished by all, and even the senate ga
proposed deputation the sanction of their
rity. Veturia, the mother of Coriolan
first made some hesitation to undertake s
a work, knowing the inflexible temper
son, and fearful of finding him deaf to h
ternal entreaties: however, she at last
took the embassy, and set forward from th
accompanied by many of the principal m
of Rome, with Volumnia his wife, and h
children. Coriolanus, who at a distanc
covered this mournful groupe of femal
pliants, was resolved to give them a denia
called his officers round him, to be witne
his resolution: but, being informed th
mother and his wife were among the nu
he instantly came down from his tribun
meet and embrace them. At first the wo
tears and embraces took away the pow
words, and the rough soldier could not r
from giving way to the feelings of nature
wise, and sharing in the general distress.

"Tell me, Coriolanus (cried his mo
"how am I to consider this meeting? Do
"brace my son, or my enemy? Am I you

"

r your captive? How have I lived to
day—to see my son a banished man,
ill more distressing, to see him the ene-
his country? How has he been able to
is arms against the place which gave
fe? how direct his rage against those
hich protect his wife, his children, and
ls? But it is to me only, that my coun-
es her oppressor; had I never been a
r, Rome had still been free; the wretch-
sciousness of this will afflict me as long
shall last, and that cannot last long.
hough I am prepared for death, yet, at
let these wretched sufferers claim some
of your compassion; and think what
e their fate, when to banishment they
dd captivity."

anus, during this speech, seemed much
by contending passions: his mother,
him moved, seconded her words by
persuasive eloquence of tears: his wife
dren hung round him, entreating for
n and pity; while the train of matrons
their lamentations, and deplored their
their country's distress, prostrate on the
in all the agony of woe. Coriolanus,
ioment, was silent, feeling the strong
between honour and inclination; at
starting as from a dream, his breast
ıg with a thousand various emotions, he
aise his mother, who had fallen at his
l exclaimed, "O my mother, thou hast
Rome, but lost thy son!" He accord-
ve orders to draw off the army, and thus
ıe city from destruction. His words,
, were prophetic; the lenity he had

shewn to his country was not to be forgiven. Tullus, who had long envied his glory, was not remiss in aggravating the treachery of his conduct to his countrymen. Upon their return, Coriolanus was slain in an insurrection of the people, by some hired assassins, and afterwards honourably buried, with late and ineffectual repentance. The Roman ladies wore mourning for him a year; and though he died in disgrace, his country always ranked him among her heroes. He was equally brave and prudent, disinterested and virtuous; but trusting to force rather than persuasion, he neglected those arts that conciliate popular affection. No Roman general ever preceded or followed him, who was better qualified to extend the limits of the republic, had his lot been cast in more propitious times; but the violence of his resentment against his native country, though it may be palliated, cannot be excused.

Great and many were the public rejoicings at Rome upon the retreat of the Volscian army. The senate decreed the women what honours they should demand; but they only asked to have a temple dedicated to Female Fortune, built in the place where they had delivered their country; which was accordingly erected at the public expence. In the mean time, that courage which had been for a time overpowered, began again to shew itself in the field. Coriolanus being no more, they ventured to face their Volscian enemies, who indeed contributed by their own contentions, together with that of their allies, to render any foreign force unnecessary to their overthrow. A signal victory was obtained over them and the Hernici the

year

ng. Among others, Tullus their ge-
slain.

Cassius Viscellinus had the principal
obtaining this victory. He was a
ally vain, and filled with ostentation:
to an extreme, and as ready to over-
n services, as to depreciate those of
le had been three times consul, and
lecreed two triumphs by the senate:
urs and advantages, aided by some
flattered his pride to such a degree,
ired to the regal power at Rome. In
repare for this, being empowered by
to impose on the conquered nations
tions of peace he should think proper,
to attach them to his interests by the
ent concessions. Accordingly he re-
ird part of what he had conquered;
m the title of citizens of Rome; and
vanquished, in all respects, as he
done a victorious army. Still fur-
iciliate friends in every part of the
ve the Latins one moiety of the con-
ls remaining, and reserved the other
e poor citizens of Rome. And not
n with this, he resolved to increase
ty, by distributing among the poor
which had long been in the posses-
ich, and which he asserted to be the
the public. Accordingly, on the
ling that of his triumph, on render-
ount, according to custom, of what
, he expatiated upon his extraordi-
d wise management of the common-
his having augmented the number of
and citizens of Rome, and on his
own

own peculiar endowments for guiding the
he went on to observe, that, however ext
the conquests of Rome might be, it signifi
little, if the rich only enjoyed the advanta
them; if, while the senate and patricians
in affluence, the veteran soldier pined in
and obscurity. He therefore was of op
that an exact estimate should be made of
lands taken from the enemy, which were
possession of the rich, and that they shou
equally divided among the lower citizens

Thus from the vanity and ambition of C
sprang the famous Agrarian law, which
wards caused such disturbances, and prov
source of perpetual discord between the po
the rich. Nothing could exceed the indig
of the senate upon hearing this propositio
they had before been almost stripped of
public rights, they saw this attacked th
their private possessions. All that fortune
their ancestors or themselves had acquir
valour or industry, was now destined to be
dered from them, in order to be distri
among the indolent, the extravagant, an
base. One deliberation succeeded upon a
to concert measures how to frustrate the
of this law, and to check the ambition
consul. The people were not less mutino

* From the history of every republic it appears, t
factions and ambitious pursue any means, however n
or unjust, but to gain popularity, and then to carry th
particular purpose. It appears also that a popular form
of government is always ruined in commotions, and deriv
strength from such convulsions; consequently, such
must be the dread of gentle and honest minds, as it is
for the violent and unprincipled to flourish in.

ir part; the tribunes, and those whose for-
es were above the lowest rank, were unwil-
g to be reduced to a level with the meanest
als of their power; the clients of the rich
re attached to the interest of their patrons;
, notwithstanding this, the majority of the
ltitude, with Cassius at their head, strenuously
moured for the Agrarian law, and threatened
truction to the empire, in case of a refusal.
en several of the Hernici and Volsci were
led in on this occasion to increase the tumult,
o protect the ambitious demagogue in case
failure. At last the senate perceived the ne-
sity of complying, and therefore gave the
ulace a promise, that the lands should be di-
ed among them, according to their desire;
decreed, that the allies and associates, who
no part in acquiring those lands, should have
share in the division. This promise at pre-
appeased the people, and gave the senate an
ortunity of concerting measures for punish-
the original proposer. Accordingly, some
e after, the questors, by their order, ap-
nted a day for Cassius to answer to the charge
is designing to subvert the state, and to raise
self to sovereign power, before the assembly
he people. A blow so unexpected alarmed
factious leader with the most just apprehen-
s, particularly as he had the tribunes, as
as the patricians, in opposition to his views.
appeared, however, before the assembly,
ted in a manner becoming his situation, and
npted to interest the people in his favour.
alleged, that he was persecuted in this man-
by the patricians, for his zeal in the people's
e; that he was their only surviving friend,
and

and that their interests were identified with his own: but his scheme appeared so desperate, that he found himself deserted by all. The senate had the justest reason to pursue him; the tribunes envied him his share of popularity, and neglected to espouse his cause; and the multitude, pleased with the patricians for their late compliance, abandoned him up to their fury. Being therefore found guilty of a number of crimes, all tending towards overturning the constitution, notwithstanding his many real services, and the intercession of his friends and clients, he was thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock, by those very people whose power and privileges he had endeavoured to extend. It was too late that they perceived their error, and began to regret their champion with a degree of sorrow that only still more argued their ingratitude.

Soon after the death of Cassius, the people became again urgent for the execution of the Agrarian law*; but the senate, by a common political manœuvre, caused the consuls to prepare for an expedition against the Æqui. The people at first refused to enlist, till the consuls, hitting upon a new expedient, ordered all the country-houses of the recusants to be levelled with the ground. This had the desired effect; numbers came to offer themselves, that they might save their possessions from destruction, and were led against the enemy, with the usual good fortune of Rome. Thus, while the contest continued in the city, the Roman arms made

* About this period it seems that the tribunes of the people extorted from the senate an appointment of ten men, called *Decemvirs*, to make the division of land, though they were not put into activity till some time after.

continual

rogress in Italy; for that spirit of
h animated both parties, only con-
inflame their courage, whatever way
ted, or whatever was the object.
latory arts continued for nearly five
ıe part of the senate, and as obstinate
clamour on that of the people: the
g their private interests, as well as
e public, to actuate their conduct; the
ıg a promise given, and a conscious-
eir own superior power, to increase
ıacy. In the midst of these troubles,
ıs received a signal defeat, under the
Virginius, one of their consuls, from
ian army; and, though Fabius came
rtunely to his relief, yet, upon his re-
enemy made incursions up to the very
ome. This served to inflame the dis-
nd the animosities of the citizens, the
ill with-holding their promise, and the
using to enlist. In such an extremity,
of the Fabii*, with their vassals and
the number of four thousand men,
defend the frontiers of the Roman ter-
They built a fort nigh the borders of
ıy, and making frequent incursions,
nriched themselves by spoil. It com-
with the brevity of this work, to relate
inute transactions, and indecisive con-
ıich attended the petty wars between
d the surrounding states. It will suf-
ıay, that they ended with general

* illustrious victims to the defence of their country
o be compared with the Lacedæmonian phalanx that
: pass of Thermopylæ.

good

fortune to the Roman people, and s
with an extension of territory. The F
ever, were not finally successful, bein
off to a man by an ambuscade, which
for them by the people of Veii. Of
le family, one only survived, whose p
became afterwards equally serviceable t
te, and were equally illustrious.

While the territories of Rome were enla
successive wars, her citizens also became n
umerous. In the enumeration taken at
eriod, they were found to amount to one
dred and eleven thousand men, fit to bear a
with treble that number of women, children,
slaves. This increase of people, without c
merce, only tended to advance the disturba
of the city. Every year produced some new
mult between the contending orders of the s
The people, now become the electors of the
gistrates, had neither skill nor integrity t
upon competent persons; and scarcely did
consul lay down his office, but the mult
were foremost to accuse his remissness or
pacity. It was in this manner that they a
Menenius, their consul, for suffering the
of the Fabii to be cut off: he was indeed
skilful general, but at the same time inn
the charge brought against him. But this
avail; he was fined about five pounds
money, a sum, which, though trifling in
estimation, he was unable to pay, nor
accept the assistance of his friends: he,
in detestation of the injustice and ingr
his fellow-citizens, shut himself up i
house, and starved himself to death.

The year following, the two precedi

Manlius and Fabius, were in like manner cited by the tribunes to appear before the people. The Agrarian law was the object invariably pursued, and they were accused of having made unjustifiable delays in putting it off. The same perseverance on one side, and obstinacy on the other, again set the city in a ferment, and threatened destruction to one of the parties, when Genutius the tribune, who had revived the law, was found dead in his bed, though without any marks of violence. A circumstance like this, which should have awakened the suspicions of the people, only served to alarm their superstitions; they began to imagine that the gods were against their cause, and shewed symptoms of returning to their former obedience. The consuls, in order to avail themselves of this fortunate impression, began to make fresh levies; for it was now become the settled policy of the rulers, to draw off the peccant humours of the people by leading a part of them to war. Wherefore, mounting their tribunals, and being attended by their lictors, they continued to enrol the citizens with success, till coming to one Volero, a centurion, who refused to be inlisted as a private sentinel, they ordered him to be stripped and scourged. This impolitic severity not only rekindled the people's resentment, but afterwards produced a new cause of contention, concerning the power of the consuls and the privileges of the people. The prisoner was rescued by the multitude; the magistrates driven off; and, to complete their mortification, soon after, Volero was made one of the tribunes of the people.

The election of this demagogue was very inimical

mical to the views of the patrician party was not only resolved upon carrying the Agr law, but also upon enacting another, in v the people should give their votes by tribes, not by curiæ, or centuries. This was an mortal blow to the patrician power; when the people voted by centuries, the cians were entire masters of the contest, and by curiæ, in which only the inhabitants o city voted, they also, from their numb clients, had the majority of voices. But wh this law all freemen of Rome, from wha part of its territories they came, were to b mitted to give a single vote, equal to that o first senator, all influence was entirely lost the patricians had nothing to do but to re passive. It was, therefore, at first strongl posed by the senate, and as warmly urge the people. In this contest, Appius Clau the consul, son to the former Appius, wh heriting the inflexible firmness of his fath well as his hatred to the people, took a le part. In one of their public assemblies h posed their designs so warmly, and so justl posed the turbulent tempers of the tribunes they ordered him to depart the assembly; upon his refusal, they commanded tha should be sent to prison.

This violent stretch of power astonishe the senators who were present; they offer take arms in his defence, and as the peopl in the former case beaten off the lictors, so were in this driven off by the patricians. seemed the signal for a new tumult; st torches, and every weapon that fury could uish, in a place where the citizens never ca

were employed against each other. But
ius, the other consul, a man of a mild and
able disposition, throwing himself into the
of the combatants, entreating and beseeching
and menacing others, prevailed so far as
age their mutual animosity for that night.
tumults, however, were renewed the day
ing, with more than former fury; Ap-
with all his native fierceness, charging at
ad of his clients, and other young patricians;
ectorius, the tribune, with a multitude of
wer part of the people, taking possession
capitol, fortified themselves there, seem-
determined to hold it out against their op-
. Their conduct now threatened more
ing consequences than in the former defec-
f the army on mount Aventine; for as in
the insurgents were at a distance from
, in this, they were in the very heart of
ity. All things indeed indicated a total
rsion of the constitution, when the conci-
disposition of Quintius disarmed the vio-
of the popular party, and obtained a hear-
efore the senate, respecting the law in
on. This venerable body, after many de-
which form, rather than uncertainty,
have dictated, resolved, that the tribunes
ie people were to be gratified, and that the
vas to be enacted without delay. It was
l by the general consent of all the orders,
he officers of the people were elected from
eforward by the tribes. Thus the people
egrees left the patricians nothing but the
w of power, and of this even the multi-
feeling their own importance, were re-
l to deprive them.

In the mean time, Appius, as might
pected, was far from being disposed to concur
this new concession to popular importunity:
e treated the people with a contempt, that
ather seemed the effect of folly than of reason,
and bitterly inveighed against the senate's pusil-
lanimity. Nor were the people ignorant of this,
but waited for an occasion of shewing their re-
A. C. sentment; an opportunity soon offered of
469. gratifying their mutual aversion, upon
his being appointed general against the
U. C. Volscians. These, as usual, had made
279. inroads upon the unguarded frontiers
Rome; and Appius being now the command
of the army, the natural severity of his temp
had a field to display itself in. The Rom
discipline, which, at the mildest, was extrem
rigorous, he by his strictness rendered almos
supportable. The soldiers, on the other h
reluctantly obeyed a general whom they ha
and he, in return, increased his rigours upo
slowness of their obedience. They, ther
began to consider his severity rather as a
cious vengeance than a wholesome chastis
and only awaited the enemy to retaliat
upon his person, but his glory. Acco
the Volscians appeared, and the Roma
He led them into the camp in order to h
them, and they universally refused to
an audience. He then endeavoured
them off from the enemy, but the wh
dispersed, instead of making a regul
At length, he found means of securing
his forces which yet remained under
by encamping them in a place of safe
marshalling them in their ranks, a

them for their cowardice, he gave posterity a striking example of the severity of Roman discipline, and the greatness of military obedience. He first ordered all the centurions who had fled or quitted their ranks, to be scourged and beheaded; he then upbraided his soldiers with having thrown down their arms; and drawing out every tenth man, by lot, had him executed in the presence of his trembling companions. Soldiers, with so much ardour for liberty in times of peace, and such profound submission to their generals in times of war, were unquestionably fitted to make the conquest of the world.

Appius, however, did not long survive this tragical scene; for some time after, the tribunes, pushing on the Agrarian law with vigour, while he persisted in his opposition, appointed him a day to answer to an accusation of being the declared enemy of public liberty. Appius obeyed; but appeared before the people, not in the usual manner, in a supplicating dress or posture, but spoke for himself with a confidence that a previous settled resolution to triumph or to die had inspired. The tribunes, finding that his innocence was too apparent to be impeached, and yet unwilling to acquit him, put off his trial to another day. He saw through their design of only waiting to make his condemnation sure, and prevented their malice by a voluntary death. The tribunes wished to deprive him of the obsequies due to a person of his rank; but the consuls allowed the son to pronounce the funeral oration of the father; while the uncertain multitude listened with pleasure to his eulogy.

The death of Appius, and some wars, or rather

ther incursions made by the Romans in
territories of the Volsci, suspended, for a
the people's earnestness for the Agrarian
but these being composed, the tribunes
new commotions, and had the boldness
sert, that the people ought not only to h
share in the lands, but also in the governm
the commonwealth, and that a code of w
laws should be compiled, to mark out the b
of their duty*. The opposition to this w
less violent on the side of the patricians
drove the clamorous multitude from the f
headed by Cæso, the son of that Quintius
cinnatus, who is now about to perform su
illustrious character in the drama of the
The tribunes resolved to make an exam
this young patrician, to deter the future
rages of others; and, therefore, appointe
a day to answer before the people. Bein
son of a man entirely respected by both p
he was treated with so much lenity, as
admitted to bail; but flying to Etruria
father, Quintius Cincinnatus, was oblig
sell almost his whole estate to re-imburs
sureties, and then retreating to a small farm
a little cottage beyond the Tiber, lived a
tented life, tilling a few acres with his
hands, and reaping the produce of his indu
The tribunes, however, were not satisfied
the expulsion of Cæso; they still continu

* Hitherto the administration of justice had belonged
consuls alone, who regulated their decisions on the pri
of natural equity, ancient usage, and the laws of Romul
his successors, of which some remains still existed
sacred books, entrusted to the care of the pontiffs, bu
carefully concealed from vulgar eyes.

clai

clamour for the Agrarian law, and even raised a report, that the senators had formed a plot against their lives. This contrivance was principally intended to intimidate the senate into a compliance; but it had only the more obvious effect of increasing the tumults of the people, and aggravating their animosity.

In this state of commotion and universal disorder, Rome was upon the point of falling under the power of a foreign enemy. Herdonius, a Sabine, a man of great intrepidity and ambition, formed the design of seizing and plundering the city, while it was torn by intestine distractions. For this purpose, having collected an army of about four thousand men, composed of his clients and fugitive slaves, he sent them down the river Tiber on floats by night; so that the people were astonished the next morning to behold a foreign enemy in possession of the capitol, the citadel of Rome. Herdonius, on his part, did every thing in his power to persuade the lower citizens and slaves to join his party; to the one he promised freedom, to the other an ample participation of benefits and spoil. The tribunes, in this exigence, were far from encouraging the people to arm in defence of their country; they, on the contrary, used all their eloquence to dissuade them from fighting, until the patricians should engage by oath to create ten men, with a power of making laws, and to suffer the people to have an equal share in all the benefits that should accrue. These conditions, though very severe, the necessity of the times obliged the consuls to promise; and Valerius, who was one of them, putting himself at the head of a few volunteers, marched towards the capitol, crying out, as he passed,

at length retaa-
killed in the assault. On ....
himself, the slaves died by the hands of t
tioner, and the rest were made prisoner
But, though the city was thus delive
a foreign invasion, it was by no means
from its intestine divisions. The tribu
ed the surviving consul for the perfor
his promise; but it seems the Agrarian
a grant which the senate could not thin
ceding to the people. The consul
made many delays and excuses, till a
being driven to give a positive answer,
them, that as the promise was made by
consuls, he could do nothing alone.
sembly was therefore appointed for che
other consul; and the senate, in orde
the people without hopes of obtaining th
fixed upon Quintius Cincinnatus who
so lately been obnoxious to them. C
- has been already related, had for
views of ambition

neither; but, instead of attempting
the confidence of faction, to pay a strict
n to the best interests of his country.
by threats, and well-timed submission,
vailed upon the tribunes to put off
aw for a time, and carried himself so
be a terror to the multitude, whenever
efused to inlist, and their greatest en-
er whenever their submission deserved it.
licy consisted in holding the citizens, who
gained the capitol, as still engaged to
him by their oath, and threatening to
em into a winter encampment, to which
vere totally unaccustomed, in case they
yed; by which he so far intimated the tri-
that they gave up their law, upon con-
of his foregoing the threatened encamp
upon the whole, he discharged his office
uch skill, moderation, humanity, and jus-
that the people seemed to forget they
d new laws, and the senate seemed to wish

into the territories of Rome. Minutius
the consuls who succeeded Cincinnatus
nt to oppose them; but, being naturally
and more afraid of defeat, than desirou
:tory, his army was forced into a defile be
a two mountains, from which, except
.igh the enemy, there was no egress. This
ever, the Æqui had the precaution to for
; by which the Roman army was so hemmed
on every side, that nothing remained but sub
ssion to the foe, famine, or immediate death.
me horsemen, who found means of getting
way privately through the enemy's camp, were
ie first that brought the account of the dis
ster to Rome. Nothing could exceed the con
.ternation of all ranks of people, when inform
ed of this dilemma; the senate, at first, thought
of the other consul; but not having sufficient
experience of his abilities, they unanimously
turned their eyes upon Cincinnatus, and resolve
to make him Dictator. Cincinnatus, the onl
person on whom Rome could now place h
whole dependence, was found, as before,
the messengers of the senate, labouring in
little field with cheerful industry. When he s
at some distance the deputies sent to annou
his election preceded by twenty-four lict
he put on his upper garment, and advancin
meet them, said, "What news do you l
"from Rome?" "Rome our country and
"is in danger—she requires a dictator, an
"made choice of you." Cincinnatus hea
sigh at the recital, and casting a look of
on his oxen and the companions of his to
parted for the city, near which he was
the principal of the senate in their robes.

A

A dignity so unlooked, so unwished for, however, had no effect upon the simplicity or the integrity of his manners: and though now possessed of absolute power, and called upon to nominate his master of the horse, he chose a poor man, named Tarquitius, one who, like himself, despised riches when they led to dishonour. Tarquitius was born of a patrician family, but, though of consummate bravery, never being able to raise money to purchase a horse, he had hitherto fought only as a foot soldier, willing to serve his country, though in the humblest situation. Thus the saving a great nation was devolved upon an husbandman, taken from the plough, and an obscure sentinel, found among the dregs of the army. Upon entering the city, the dictator instantly made himself acquainted with the position of affairs, and assuming a serene look, entreated all those who were able to bear arms, to repair, before sunset, to the Campus Martius, the place where the levies were made, with necessary arms, and provisions for five days. He then put himself at their head, and, marching all night with great expedition, arrived before day within sight of the enemy. Upon his approach he ordered the soldiers to raise a loud shout, to apprise the consul's army of the relief that was at hand. The Æqui were not a little amazed, when they saw themselves between two enemies, but still more when they perceived Cincinnatus making the strongest entrenchments beyond them, to prevent their escape, and enclosing them, as they had inclosed the consul. To prevent this, a furious combat ensued; but the Æqui, being attacked on both sides, and unable to resist or fly, begged

gged a cessation of arms: they offere
ctator his own terms: he gave them
ves; but obliged them, in token of servi
) pass under the yoke; which was two s
et upright, and another across, in the for
i gallows, beneath which the vanquished
to march. Their captains and generals he
prisoners of war, being reserved to adorn
triumph. Then addressing the army he
just delivered, "Soldiers of Minutius," sai
"you who were so nearly becoming a pr
"your enemies, shall not share their spoils:
"you, consul, must learn the art of war as a
"tenant before you command as a gene
Not a murmur was heard at this decision
the contrary, the whole army in conjunction
sented Cincinnatus with a crown of gol
having saved the lives and honour of his fe
citizens. Thus, having rescued a Roman
from inevitable destruction, having defe
powerful enemy, having taken and fortifie
city, and, still more, having refused any
the spoil, he hastened to resign his dictat
after having enjoyed it but fourteen days
senate would have enriched him, but he
their proffers, choosing to retire once
his farm and his cottage, content witl
rance and the consciousness of native w

Next year the Æqui, resolving to retr
lost reputation, again marched into
and re-took their city. On the otl
when levies were to be made in Rome
their progress, the tribunes refused
people be enrolled. The necessity of
however, was such, that an army
raised; and the senators, finding the

itude, offered to go themselves, with
and dependents. So many old and
en, who had long been considered as
of the state, marching feebly out to
emy, whom the young and the vi-
sed to encounter, affected the mul-
ach a degree, that, in spite of their
s, they offered to go; only demand-
ecompense, to have the number of
es increased from five to ten. This
e senate considered as an expedient to
e number of their enemies; but Cin-
who judged more maturely upon the
ured them, it would be the most in-
ns of debilitating that power which
g controlled them; that in case ten
d, in such a number there were the
xpectations to bring over a part, and
le tribune could reverse the resolu-
the rest. Accordingly the senate
e into his opinion, and pretending to
compliance a favour, informed the
at they had, after much deliberation,
oper to grant their request.
cession seemed for a while to satisfy
; but in less than a year, the new tri-
first time, uniting all together, made
r encroachments, and ventured, by
uthority, to order an assembling of

They required also, that mount
which was a mile and a half in com-
s yet unenanted, might be granted
le to build on. With this, though
r the most violent contests, the se-
l, in hopes that it might be a means
ing the seditions, which they dread-

ed from delaying to confirm t
Nevertheless, in this they we
for soon after, the tribunes ren
complaints and insolence; and
carried on with so little decenc
not arguments, generally term
liberation. To such a pitch
indeed were they arrived, that t
appointed a day even for the
before the people. They thou
ever, upon cool consideration,
solent prosecution; but at th
solved not to discontinue thei
deavours for the Agrarian law.
ingly was fixed, on which this i
was to be discussed; and num
were present, either to give th
opinions. The tribunes spoke
justice of such a law; several
lated what services they had
trifling rewards they had obtair
were prepossessed in favour of
more, when Siccius Dentatus, a p
in years, but of an admirable
tary deportment, came forward
hardships and his merits. This
no scruple of extolling the
ments of his youth, but indee
nobled ostentation. He had
try in the wars forty years; h
ficer thirty; first a centurion,
he had fought one hundred ar
in which, by the force of his si
saved a multitude of lives: he
teen civic, three mural, and eigh
Besides eighty-three chains, sixt

t spears, and twenty-three horse-trap-
whereof nine were for killing the enemy
e combat: moreover, he had received
e wounds, all in front; particularly
on the day the capitol was recovered
he enemy. These were his pretensions;
had never received any share of those
hich were taken from the enemy, but con-
to drag on a life of poverty and contempt,
others were possessed of those very terri-
which his valour had won, without any
to deserve them, and without having con-
ed to the conquest in the smallest degree.
e of so much hardship, though sufficiently
ion both in ancient and modern times, had
ng effect upon the multitude: they una-
usly demanded, that the law might be
d, and that such merit should not go un-
rded. It was in vain that some of the se-
rs rose up to speak against it; their voices
drowned by the cries of the populace. When
n, therefore, could no longer be heard, pas-
as usual, succeeded; and the young pa-
ns, running furiously into the throng, broke
alloting urns, and dispersed the multitude
offered to oppose them. For this they were
time after mulcted by the tribunes; but
resolution, nevertheless, for the present put
he Agrarian law, whose establishment had
dy been so often agitated.

generally happens that internal commotions
omposed by foreign invasions; and the ap-
sh of the Æqui, within sixteen miles of the
in some measure restored peace to the re-
c. In this war Siccius Dentatus, the ve
who had harangued the people, gaine

greater honours than the consul w
the victory; for being ordered up
hope, to attack the enemy in a quar
knew they were inaccessible, he, at
strated against the danger and de
the attempt; but being reproached
sul with cowardice, he led on his b
hundred veterans to the place, reso
by his death, a pattern of obedienc
in his life an example of resolutio
was more propitious than he had da
for perceiving a passage into the en
which had not been indicated by th
led his veterans forward, and whil
army amused the enemies on one
tacked their camp on the other, so
mans obtained a complete victory.
however, being conscious that he w
this dangerous service, only to p
death or infamy, had interest enou
return, to prevent the consul's havin
as also to get himself created a tri
same hero likewise procured a law
for punishing such magistrates as sl
ture violate their authority, and for
consuls fined for their behaviour
particular. Thus fortune conspir
persevering zeal of the tribunes, to
patrician interest every year. All t
were now fading fast away; their
sions, those fruits of hereditary p
mained feebly in suspense, and the
breeze threatened to shake them to
and leave them to be divided accord
not to birth.

CHAP. V.

the Creation of the Decemviri to the Extinction of that Office.

t the long period of sixty years, A. C. 451.
e commonwealth of Rome had been
ually agitated by the virulence of U. C. 297.
and the conflict of opposite par-
At length each side, as if weary,
d inclined to respire a while from the mu-
certions of their claims, or rather to give
a new direction. The Agrarian law be-
in a manner forgotten, and all the animo-
hich it had produced appeared to subside.
has ever been the fate of mankind to form
esires, in exact proportion to the number
eir possessions. There must always be
bject to engage the attention of the public
l as of individuals; and when the mind is
of contemplating one subject, it hastens
rdour to embrace another. The citizens
ry rank now began to complain of the ar-
decisions of their magistrates, and wished
guided by a written body of laws, which
known, might prevent wrongs, as well as
them. This idea, which was first started
rentius*, was equally acceptable both to

nce called the Terentian law, and which for a time as much public attention as the Agrarian had ever The laws of Solon formed the basis of the system now ted.

the senate and the people, as hoping th system of jurisprudence would put an e commotions that had so long harassed It was thereupon agreed, that ambassadc be sent to the Greek cities in Italy, and t to bring home such laws from thence, perience had been found most equitable ful. For this purpose, three senators, mius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, were fi and galleys assigned to convoy them, suitable to the majesty of the Roma While they were upon this commissio a dreadful plague depopulated the city and supplied the interval of their abs other anxieties than that of wishes vations. In about a year the plague ce the ambassadors returned, bringing body of laws, collected from the mos states of Greece and Italy, which bei wards formed into ten tables, and t being added, constituted that celebra called the laws of the twelve tables, m ments of which remain to this day, an cognised in different nations of Europe

But on this important topic it is ne enlarge. The ambassadors were no s turned, than the tribunes required, th of men should be chosen to digest the laws into proper form, and to give their execution. After long debates this choice should not be partly made people as well as the patricians, it w agreed that ten of the principal senato be elected, whose power continuing f should be equal to that of kings and and that without any appeal: that

m

tes should lay down their offices, until
should direct proper substitutes; and
new legislators should, in the mean
ercise their authority with all the en-
the former but now discontinued power.
sons chosen were Appius and Genutius,
l been elected consuls for the ensuing
'osthumius, Sulpicius, and Manlius, the
ıbassadors; Sextus and Romulus, former
with Julius, Veturius, and Horatius,
of the first distinction. Thus the whole
ıion of the state at once assumed a new
nd a dreadful experiment was going to
of governing one nation by laws taken
e manners and customs of another, to-
ferent in its genius and polity.

Decemviri, being now invested with ab-
ower, agreed to take the reins of go-
nt by turns, and that each should dis-
ıstice for a day. In order to avoid envy,
termined likewise that he alone who was
ctual exercise of power alone should be
d with the ensigns of it; and that each
rest should be only preceded by a petty
called Accensus, to distinguish him from
ɜar.

novelty of this form of government, at
:med extremely pleasing to the people;
the moderation of the decemviri them-
ınworthy of praise. Appius, in par-
bore away the greatest share of popu-
his affable air, his republican professions,
engaging assiduity, made the people
rget the violence of his ancestors, or
ey once trembled at the name. These
ates, for the first year, laboured with ex-

treme

treme application: they had not on
from a great variety of Greek l
were obliged also to get them ir
one Hermodorus, an Ephesian, a
selves were ignorant of the origin
a strong instance how little at this
mans were advanced in polite l
length, however, by the help of the
they formed a body of laws from t
from Greece, interwoven with the
their own kings; the whole com
tables. These being submitted
were generally approved, engraver
brass, and hung up to public view
conspicuous part of the forum.

It was the prevailing opinion t
was now finished, and, in consequ
pected, that the decemviri would
to give up their offices; but havi
sweets of power, they were unwilli
and, that they might have a plausib
what they wished to do, they preten
laws were yet wanting to complete
and entreated the senate for a c
their appointment; to which that b
The choice of persons was next
public consideration. Appius, b
secret thirst for power, yet knowin
of its exposal, feigned himself qu
with the fatigues of the office, and
for an able successor. Neverthele
means, he contrived to put all those
in practice, which he knew wou
standing candidate, secure his electi
ingly, when the day came, his coll
surprised to see him the first upon th

od for the office; and still more, when
ind him elected by a great majority of
dy people, who mistook his ambition for
ity. His friends also were elected through
ence. Fabius, Cornelius, Servilius, Mi-
Antonius, and Rabulius, who were pa-
; together with the plebeians Petillius,
, and Duellius, formed the second de-
ate. These last three were chosen from
the people by the interest of Appius,
o ingratiate himself with the multitude,
ed, that it was very proper the people
have a share in forming those laws, by
they were to be hereafter governed.
ius, being thus reinstated in this high
turned all his thoughts towards rendering
idable and perpetual; he therefore con-
his colleagues, and knowing them to be
creatures, he opened to them his design
ining the power of which they had been
to possession. As they had been previ-
instructed, they readily came into his
al, and bound themselves by the most
n vows, never to dissent from each other;
to give up their authority; and not to resort
opinions, either of the senate or the peo-
ut in cases of absolute necessity. At this
l, therefore, the decemvirate put on a very
nt appearance from that of the former
instead only of one of them being attended
rods and axes, each made his appearance
hose ensigns of terror and authority. In-
of magistrates, mild, just, and affable, the
e beheld them converted into monsters of
, licentiousness, and cruelty. They made
rms of justice an engine to put many of

the

the citizens to death, and deprive others o
estates and country. Accusers and infe
were suborned from among their depe
ready to give evidence as they were comma
while those who expected redress in any
justice, had no prospect of success, but to
into a criminal confederacy with the j
Thus an universal corruption began to
itself over the people; while the good a
wise either became voluntary exiles from
or secretly bewailed the misfortunes of
country.

But as such violence could not long co
without some of the usual arts of dece
which even tyranny must sometimes stc
use, the decemviri, in order to convince th
ple that they were not unmindful of thei
gated trust, added two tables more of l
those already promulgated, which alto
formed, as we have before said, that bo
laws, known by the name of the TWELV
BLES. In these last was introduced a law
hibiting all marriages between the patricia
plebeians; by which the framers hoped to
the breach between the two orders, and
avail themselves of their mutual anim
Their designs, however, were easily
through; but the people bore them wit
tience, for the time of the expiration of
office was now at hand, when it was exp
they would quietly lay down their usurpe
thority. But they soon threw off the mask
regardless either of the approbation of the
or the people, continued themselves, contr
all precedent, and against all order, another
in the decemvirate. A conduct so tyranni

new discontents, and these were as sure
duce fresh acts of tyranny to silence them.
ity was become almost a desert, with re-
to all who had any thing to lose, and
ecemvirs' rapacity was then only abated,
they wanted fresh objects for its exercise.
state of slavery, proscription, and mutual
t, not a single citizen was found who had
e to strike for his country's freedom.
rants continued to rule without control,
constantly guarded, not with their lictors'
but by a numerous crowd of dependents,
, and even patricians, whom their vices
nfederated round them, while the virtu-
nd the patriotic were restrained by fear
rom venting their complaints.

this gloomy situation of the state, the
and Volsci, those constant enemies of the
ns, renewed their incursions, in hopes of
ng by the intestine divisions of the people,
lvanced within about ten miles of Rome.
was a thunder-stroke to the decemviri, who
authority to raise an army themselves,
lt great reluctance in asking aid from the
, whose deliberations had been long sus-
l. In this pressing juncture, however, the
was, at last, called together; when Ap-
a premeditated oration, propounded the
s for which they were convened. He
esired that each should speak his senti-
as he was called upon; but Valerius, the
on of Publicola, rising out of his turn, he
dered by the tyrant to sit down. Vale-
owever, refused to obey, but violently in-
d against the tyranny of the decemvirate,
ir effrontery, in expecting that the senate,

whose

whose power they had desttoyed, shoul
take measures to support their betrayers.
speech revived the almost extinguished c
of others, and he was seconded by Marc
ratius, who, with still greater freedom, e
their horrid invasion of the rights of their
try, their outrages, their rapines, and the
elty. Appius, at first, seemed to bear t
rangue with patience; but at last his p
long used to indulgence, could no longer
pressed; he flew out into the most indece
lence, raged against his opposers, and thre
to have Horatius hurled from the T
rock. The whole body of senators at last,
by this indignity, exclaimed against the
vir's infringement of the liberty of free
as the highest breach of their privileges,
intolerable act of power. On this Appiu
tle repenting his rashness, began to excu
self, by saying, that he was willing to
berty to all deliberations upon the questi
could not bear an oration, which, wa
from the point in debate, only seemed cal
to promote sedition: that he and his col
had received an unlimited power from t
ple till the great work of forming the la
finished; during which they were reso
act to the extent of their power, and then
be answerable for their administration.
was a sufficient avowal of their intentio
the uncorrupt part of the senate, parti
Claudius, the uncle of Appius, spoke v
testation of their proceedings; but a larg
in the house, which the decemviri had
ously formed, and still others whom the
had biassed, shewed themselves incline

[illegible] fathers being reduced to the
[illegible]ituation of granting a forced sanc-
[illegible]ny, were immediately dismissed;
[illegible]nviri, now in possession of all the
well as of the civil power, divided
nto three parts; whereof one conti-
Appius in the city, to keep it in awe;
wo were commanded by his col-
l were led, one against the Æqui,
ainst the Volsci. The Roman sol-
ttely adopted an ingenious and ef-
iod of punishing the generals whom
l, by suffering themselves to be van-
the field. They put it in practice
:casion, and shamefully abandoned
upon the approach of the enemy.
he news of a victory more joyfully
Rome than the tidings of this defeat;
, as is always the case, were blamed
:hery of their men; some demanded
would be deposed, others cried out

geance; and, under pretence of doing
ticular honour, he was appointed le
put at the head of the supplies which
from Rome to re-inforce the army.
of legate was held sacred among the
as in it were united the authority of
with the reverence due to the priestho
tatus, unsuspicious of any design a
person or honour, went to the camp
crity, where he was received with all
nal marks of respect. But the gen
found means of indulging their desire o
He was sent at the head of an hundr
examine a more commodious place for
ment, as he had very candidly assured
manders, that their present situation
gible. The soldiers, however, who acc
him, were assassins; wretches who
been ministers of the vengeance of the d
and who now engaged to murder him
with all those apprehensions which his
putation* might be supposed to inspir
these designs they led him from the
the hollow bosom of a retired mountai
they began to set upon him from behin
tatus too late perceived the treachery o
cemviri, and was resolved to sell his life
as he could: he therefore placed his bac
a rock, and put himself in a posture of
Though now grown old, he had still the
of his former valour, and killed no less
teen of the assailants, and wounded th

* Dentatus has for some time obtained the glo
lation of the Roman Achilles; and perhaps his h
deserved it.

hand. The assassins therefore, terrified
nazing bravery, showered in their jave-
n him at a distance, all which he received
ield with undaunted resolution. The
though so unequal in numbers, was
d for some time with doubtful success,
ngth his assailants bethought themselves
ding the rock, against which he stood,
poured down stones upon him from
This succeeded; the old soldier fell be-
eir united efforts; after having shewn
eath, that he owed his former numerous
f fame, not to fortune but to valour.
emviri pretended to join in the general
for so brave a man, and decreed him a
with the first military honours: but the
s of their apparent distress, compared
eir known hatred, only rendered them
re detestable to the people. A trans-
however, still more atrocious than what
related, at last inspired the citizens with
n to break all measures of obedience,
mancipate themselves into freedom.
is, who still remained at Rome, sitting
on his tribunal to dispense justice, be-
very young maiden of exquisite beauty,
to one of the public schools, attended
nurse. The charms of this damsel,
ed by all the innocence of virgin mo-
ught his attention, and fired his heart.
following, as she passed, he thought
more beautiful than before, and his
as still more inflamed with desire. He
resolved to obtain the gratification of
n, whatever might be the consequence,
preliminary step, took means to inform

Appius, at first, resolved to break this
and to espouse her himself; but the laws
twelve tables had forbidden the patrician
termarry with the plebeians; and he co
infringe a regulation which he had been
ous to establish. Nothing therefore re
for him to attempt but a criminal enj
which, as he was long used to the indulg
his passions, he resolved to obtain. After
vainly tried to corrupt the fidelity of he
he had recourse to another expedient sti
guilty. He secretly prevailed upon one C
who had long been the minister of his pl
to assert that the beautiful maid was hi
and to refer the cause to his own trib
decision. Claudius behaved exactly ac
to his instructions; for, entering into th
where Virginia was placed among her
companions, he seized upon her as his p
and was going to drag her away by fo

noned, it was but reasonable the slave
be delivered into his custody, as her
naster.

'ile decemvir affected to be struck with
ce of his claims; he observed, that if the
father were present, he might indeed be
o delay the delivery of the maiden for
ne, but that it was not lawful for him,
esent case, to detain her from her law-
er. He therefore adjudged her to Clau-
his slave, to be kept by him till Vir-
hould be able to prove his paternity.
tence was received with loud murmurs
oaches by the multitude; the women in
ır surrounded the innocent Virginia, as
to protect her from the judge's fury;
ilius her lover, boldly opposed the de-
l obliged Claudius to take refuge under
nal of the decemvir, for whom he was
ıg. All things now threatened an open
ion, when Appius, fearing the event,
proper to suspend his judgment till the
f Virginius, who was with the army, at
listance from Rome. The day follow-
fixed for the decision; and in the mean
ppius sent letters to the generals to con-
inius, as his arrival in town might only
kindle sedition among the people.
tters, however, were intercepted by the
ı's friends, who sent him a full relation
sign laid against the liberty and the
f his only daughter. Virginius upon
ending the death of a near relation, ob-
rmission to leave the camp, and flew to
nspired with indignation and revenge.
ıgly, the next day he appeared before

tribunal, to the astonishment of Appi
ding his weeping daughter by the hand, bo
bited in the deepest mourning. Claudius, t
cuser, was also there, and began by urgi
s specious claims; he said it was well know
nat the children of slaves belonged to the m
ters of their parents, and that Virginia was bo
n slavery. He observed, that pity might be
inducement to many to forego their claims, b
that he was determined to sacrifice all minu
considerations to justice. He then produced
female slave, whom he had corrupted, to swe
that she had sold Virginia to the wife of her
puted father; and concluded his pretensions
asserting, that he could confirm her testimo
by that of many others, were it needful. V
ginius next spoke; he represented that his w
had borne many children; that her pregnan
was known to all her neighbours; that, if
had intentions of adopting a supposititious ch
he would have fixed upon a boy rather th
girl; that it was notorious to all, that his
had suckled her own child; and that it was
prising such a claim should be received,
fifteen years' silent acquiescence.

While the father spoke this with a ste
Virginia stood trembling by, and with
of persuasive innocence, added weight to
remonstrances. The people seemed enti
tisfied of the infamy of the business; but
unwilling to forego his criminal desig
fearful lest the arguments of Virginiu
have dangerous effects upon the multi
terrupted him, under a pretence of b
ficiently instructed in the merits of t
" Yes (says he), my conscience obli

that I myself am a witness of the truth
eposition of Claudius. Most of this as-
know that I was left guardian to this
nd I was very early apprised, that he
ght to this young woman; but the affairs
ıblic, and the dissensions of the people,
evented my doing justice. However,
t now too late: and, by the power
n me for the public good, I adjudge
to be the property of Claudius, the
. Go therefore, lictors, disperse the
de; and make room for a master to re-
himself of his slave."

tors, in obedience to his command,
e off the throng that pressed round the
they then seized upon Virginia, and
ering her into the hands of Claudius,
ginius, who found that all further ef-
ld prove ineffectual, seemed to ac-
the sentence. He therefore mildly
Appius to be permitted to take a last
one whom he had long considered as
and after this indulgence, he would
is duty with fresh alacrity. With this
nvir complied, but upon condition,
endearments should pass in his pre-
irginius, with the most poignant an-
k his almost expiring daughter in h
a while supported her head upon h
d wiped away the tears that rolle
lovely face. But his fatal resoluti
, and the endearments of love were l
e of honour. Happening to be
surrounded the forum, he sna
it lay on the shambles, and a
er, " My dearest lost child (

this, this alone can preserve your honour and your freedom." So saying, he plunged the weapon to her heart, and then holding it up, reeking with the blood of his daughter, "Appius (he cried), by the blood of this innocent, I devote thy head to the infernal gods." So saying, with the bloody knife in his hand, and threatening destruction to whomsoever should oppose him, he ran through the city, wildly calling upon the people to strike for freedom; and from thence went to the camp, in order to spread a like flame through the army.

He no sooner arrived at the camp, followed by a number of his friends, than he informed the army of all that was done, still holding the bloody knife in his hand. He asked their pardon, and the pardon of the Gods, for having committed so rash an action, but ascribed it wholly to the dreadful necessity of the times. He implored them, by that blood which was dearer to him than his own, to redeem the sinking country; observing, that no military oaths could bind men to commanders, who were all usurpers, and could pretend to no real claim upon their allegiance. The army, already predisposed, immediately with shouts echoed their assent, and decamping left their general behind, to take their station once more upon mount Aventine, whither they had retired about forty years before. The other army, which had been formed to oppose the Sabines, seemed to adopt a like resentment, and came over in a body to join them.

Having taken this desperate step from which there was no retracting, they immediately began to feel the want of a leader, and would

chosen Virginius, but he declined the office. "My daughter (said he), is dead, and I "have not yet avenged her. Before I can ac- "cept of any honour, her manes must be ap- "peased; and what prudence, what modera- "tion, can you expect from a man whom our "tyrant has reduced to desperation? I shall be "more serviceable to the common cause as a "private soldier than as a general."

These weighty considerations made them resolve on choosing other commanders, and hence originated the military tribunes, who, in the sequel, held a relative rank with the generals in the army, as the tribunes of the people did with the consuls in the city.

Appius, in the mean time, exerted all his influence to quell the disturbance in the city; but, finding the tumult incapable of being controlled, and perceiving that his mortal enemies, Valerius and Horatius, were the most active in opposition, he at first attempted to find safety by flight; nevertheless, being encouraged by Oppius, one of his colleagues, he ventured to assemble the senate, and urged the punishment to be inflicted upon deserters. The senate, however, were far from giving him the relief he sought for; they foresaw the dangers and miseries that threatened the state, in case of opposing the incensed army; accordingly they dispatched messengers to them, offering to restore their former mode of government, by consuls and tribunes. To this proposal the people joyfully assented, and the army cheerfully entering into the same views, returned to the city, if not with the ensigns, at least with the pleasure of a triumphant entry.

Thus ended the decemvirate, after having

continued

continued somewhat less than three year
the government of Rome was a secon
changed by an attempt on female chastity
the decemviri had done, that was really
cial, remained in full force; the laws th
promulgated were considered as a pe
code of public and private rights to the
citizens, and ever will be regarded with
tion among civilised nations. The merit
compilation indeed is so great that it th
partial lustre over the decemvirate, an
many of its crimes; yet the unanimous v
the Roman historians is loud in invectives
the officers who composed it, or rather
the infamous Appius, who was the he
source of offence.

CHAP. VI.

the Expulsion of the Decemviri, to the Beginning of the first Punic War.

ELIVERED from a yoke, which in the first instance the people had inadvertently laid upon themselves, Valerius and Horatius were elected consuls, A. C. 448. U. C. 300.
d Virginius and Icilius received into number of the tribunes. The punishment the decemviri was what first engaged the attention of these popular magistrates; and Appius was appointed a day to answer the charges brought against him of tyranny and murder. Oppius, one of his colleagues, and next to him in detestation and guilt, was also arraigned; but both too well saw what mercy they had to expect, either from their judges, who were professed enemies, or from the people, whose resentment they had but too frequently incurred they, therefore, resolved to prevent that fur which they could not withstand; and both die by their own hands in prison. The other eig went into voluntary exile, and their proper was confiscated; while Claudius, the pretend master of Virginia, was banished. Thus vengeance of the tribunes pursued these devo men to the utmost, and seemed as yet unsatis with punishing. They were even preparing out-go those whom they had deposed for cru in acts of oppression; and the senate bega

tre

tremble at seeing so many of their members menaced with destruction. Duillius, however, one of the tribunes, a man more moderate than the rest of his colleagues, quieted their fears by openly professing, that no more blood should be shed on this occasion; that sufficient vengeance had been taken for the death of Virginia, and that he interdicted all future prosecutions on that account.

This allayed the fears of the senate for the present; but they soon found cause of fresh resentment. The two new consuls seemed entirely to have abandoned the interests of the patricians; and, equally popular with the tribunes themselves, to study only the gratification of the people. They procured a law to be ratified, for it had been projected before, by which each of the plebeians should, in his individual capacity, have as much influence in all elections and deliberations whatsoever, as any one of the patricians; which gave the finishing blow to all distinction between them. A law so injurious to the power of the senate, produced, as may be easily supposed, a desire to mortify the consuls; who only aimed at increasing their own influence, by the depression of that body. An opportunity for this soon offered; for the consuls, having [illegible]hed against the Æqui and the Sabines, a complete victory, and in consequence led a triumph. The senate, however, resolved to mortify them, and declared unworthy of that honour. The consuls [illegible]aled to the people, and, complaining loudly [illegible] senate, obtained a decree for the [illegible] triumph, by the authority of the [illegible]ne. Thus the two orders of the state

continued for some years mutually oppos- each other; the patricians defending the ll shadow of distinction which was left them; the people daily insisting upon fresh con- ions, as if their appetites increased by what granted to satisfy them. In short, the k which the republic had experienced by the tion and abolition of the decemvirs, caused, more than fifty years, a vibration in the go- ment, which prevented it from becoming onary. There was a constant action and ction between the different orders; and the nan people, having acquired a habit of ge, seemed at last to confound innovation improvement.

leanwhile, these intestine tumults produced kness within the state, and confidence in the ny abroad. The war with the Æqui and ci still continued; and as each year some ing advantages were obtained over the Ro- s, they, at last, advanced so far, as to make r incursions to the very walls of Rome. But the courage only of the Romans seemed di- ished by these contests, but their other vir- also, particularly their justice. About this , the inhabitants of two neighbouring cities, lea and Aricia, had a contest between them- es, about some lands that had long been med by both. At length, being unable to e, they referred it to the senate and people Rome. The senate had yet some of the ciples of primitive justice remaining, and re- d to determine the dispute. But the people lily undertook the decision, and one Scap- , an old man, declaring, that these very ls of right belonged to Rome, they imme-

diately voted themselves to be the legal possessors, and sent home the former litigants, thoroughly convinced of their own folly, and of the Roman injustice.

The tribunes also grew more and more turbulent; and having now obtained a principal share in the administration of some departments of government, nothing would satisfy them without having a participation of the whole. With these views, they proposed two laws, in violation of the sanctions of the twelve tables; one to permit plebeians to intermarry with patricians; and the other, to allow them to be admitted to the consulship also. The senators received these propositions with their accustomed indignation, and seemed resolved to undergo the utmost extremities, rather than to be instrumental in giving them force. However, finding their resistance only increase the commotions of the state, without the probability of ultimately prevailing, they, at last, consented to pass the law concerning marriages, hoping that this concession would have satisfied the people. But they were appeased but for a very short time; for returning to their old custom of refusing to enlist upon the approach of the enemy, the consuls were forced to hold a private conference with the chief of the senate; where, after many debates, Claudius proposed an expedient, as the most probable means of satisfying the people in the present conjuncture. His plan was by no means to contaminate the consulship, by suffering it to come into the hands of the people; but to create six or eight governors in the room of consuls, whereof one half, at least, should be patricians. This project, which was but a poor subterfuge of

humbled

humbled power, and was, in fact, granting what the people demanded, pleased the whole meeting; and, that nothing might seem pre-concerted among them, they agreed, that, at the next public meeting of the senate, the consuls should, contrary to their usual custom, begin by asking the opinion of the youngest senator; whereas, formerly, they always began by asking that of the senior. Upon assembling the senate, one of the tribunes accused them of holding secret meetings, and concerting dangerous designs against the interests of the people. The consuls, on the other hand, averred their innocence; and, to demonstrate their sincerity, gave any of the younger members of the house leave to propound their opinions. These remaining silent, such of the older senators as were known to be popular, began by observing, that the people ought to be indulged in their request; that none so well deserved power, as those who were most instrumental in gaining it; and that the city could not be free until all were reduced to perfect equality.

Claudius, as had been agreed upon, spoke next; and, though he professed to be very willing to advance the propositions of those who spoke before him, the better to conceal his designs, he broke out into bitter invectives against the people; asserting that it was his opinion the law should not pass. This produced some disturbance among the plebeians; but at length, Genutius, as if to conciliate the senate and the people, proposed, as had been pre-concerted, that six governors should be annually chosen, with consular authority, three from the senate, and three from the people; and that when the time

of their magistracy should be expired, the
would be for the consideration of the pe
whether they would have the some form c
nued, or whether the consulship should r
to its former establishment. This project
eagerly embraced by the people, because it
mised something new; and leave was give
any of the plebeians to stand for this new o
Yet so fickle were the multitude, that th
many of their own rank stood, not one of
was thought worthy of the honour, an
choice wholly fell upon the patricians, wh
fered themselves as candidates. Thus the
ple, who were still clamorous for innova
could not avail themselves of any conces
they gained from their opponents, for wa
unanimity and prudence.

A. C. 443. The new magistrates were called litary Tribunes; they were at first three, afterwards they were increas four, and at length to six. They possesse power and the ensigns of consuls, yet authority being divided among a number, singly was of less consequence. The first were chosen only continued in their office three months, the augurs having found s thing amiss in the ceremonies of their elec and in a short time the new institution was aside.

On this, the consuls once more came in fice; and, in order to lighten the weight of ness which they were obliged to sustain, a office was created, namely, that of Censo be chosen every fifth year. Their busines to take an estimate of the number and esta e people, and to distribute them into thei

o inspect into the lives and manners
w-citizens; to cashier senators for
to dismount knights, and to de-
ns into an inferior tribe, in case of
r. The first two censors were Pa-
empronius, both patricians; and
er they continued to be elected for
ıdred years.

on served to restore peace for some
the orders; and a triumph gained
iscians, by Geganius the consul,
universal satisfaction that reigned
eople. As it was observed of the
a victory gained at the Olympic
the conqueror to the highest pitch
lendor, so it might be said of the
: a triumph was the greatest honour
y had any idea. For this their ge-
, not less than for the benefit of the
he people also, when entertained
ectacles, forgot their private dis-
ı empty notion of their country's

which succeeded the nomination of
however of short continuance; for
ter, a famine pressing hard upon
: usual complaints against the rich
d; and these, as before, proving
roduced new seditions. The con-
used of neglect, in not having stored
ities of corn; they, however, dis-
censures which they were conscious
deserve, content with exerting all
attempts to supply the pressing ne-
ıt though they did all that could
from active magistrates, in provid-

ing and distributing provisions to the poor; yet Spurius Mælius, a rich knight, who had monopolised all the corn of Tuscany, by far outshone them in liberality. This demagogue, who had long beheld the convulsions of the state with a malignant pleasure, was inflamed with a secret desire of becoming powerful by its contentions: he therefore distributed corn with the utmost liberality among the poorer sort each day, till at last his house became the asylum of all such as wished to exchange a life of labour for one of lazy dependence. When he had thus seduced a sufficient number of partisans, he procured large quantities of arms to be purchased and brought into his house by night, and formed a plan of conspiracy, by which he was to be made commander; while some of the tribunes, whom he had found means to corrupt, were to act under him in usurping the liberties of his country. Minucius, however, who at that time was appointed to the care of providing for the people, early discovered the plot that was thus formed against the public freedom; and informing the senate of the particulars, they immediately formed a resolution of creating a dictator, who should have the power of quelling the conspiracy, without appealing to the people: Cincinnatus, who was now eighty years old, but still possessing all the intrepid courage of youth, was chosen once more to rescue his country from impending danger, which he accomplished with his usual felicity. He began by summoning Mælius to appear; who being, as he thought, sufficiently supported by the multitude, refused [obey]. Cincinnatus next sent Ahala, his master of the horse, to force him; who pressing

Mælius

to follow him to the dictator's tribunal,
is refusal, Ahala killed him upon the
The dictator applauded the resolution of
ity, as being justified by necessity, and
nded the conspirator's goods to be sold,
se to be demolished, and his stores to be
ted among the people.
igh the treasonable designs of Mælius
have been incontrovertible, the tribunes
people were much enraged at his death;
order to shew their resentment to the se-
the next election, instead of consuls, in-
upon restoring their military tribunes.
is requisition the senate were obliged to
; but, though the plebeians had a right
g taken into the office, three patricians,
ne former election, were again chosen.
xt year, however, the government re-
to its ancient channel, under the consular

an endless succession of intestine dis-
ave confidence to the enemies of Rome.
eians and the Volscians proceeded with
istomary incursions, and even the allies
ne began to waver in their allegiance.
, an ancient colony belonging to the Ro-
revolted to Tolumnius, king of the
; and still more to aggravate their crime,
urdered the ambassadors who were sent
plain of their infidelity. To punish this
t with signal vengeance, a dictator was
ed, and the choice fell upon Mamercus
is. A victory was obtained over the
he king of their nation was slain; and
is marched back to Rome, with all the en-
triumph, enriched by the spoils of a king.

In

In such a state of internal distraction, ever, it appears as if the senate and c could carry on no business by their own rity alone, since we find them the year f ing creating another dictator, to oppose a t ened confederacy of the Veian nations. lius Priscus was chosen to this high office the year succeeding we read of Æmiliu former dictator, being re-elected. Hav seems, no employment abroad, he was resol do something at home; and accordingly v means of altering the continuance of the c ship from its original period of duration, year and a half; for which the censors soo fined and degraded him, upon laying do office. This conduct of theirs, on the hand, enraged the people, and, instead c suls, military tribunes were the next tim sen. In about four years after, consul introduced again, and upon a threatened sion of the Æqui, a dictator, Posthumi bero, was created, who closed his office triumph. Four years after this, the fluc of councils occasioned an establishment o tary tribunes again, and their want of suc war obliged the people to create Æmili the third time, dictator, who merited a triumph. For two years after this, milit bunes continued; then consuls, and th bunes again: thus the government, v steadiness or equipoise, continued to fl between the different orders, for more t teen years; during which time, there w little important transacted, either abr at home: the senate seemed to have lost energy, and the people all their military

rmer, who were possessed of the riches of
te, appeared indifferent about the conces-
any privileges, if they could ward off an
ian law; and the people wasted so much
attending the harangues of their tribunes,
ey fell into habitual poverty, discontent,
rbulence. Whenever the approach of an
was talked of, the danger was so mag-
either by the fears or the real weakness
state, that nothing but that desperate al-
ve of choosing a dictator could be found
ose it. So that in a period of twenty
we find the people above ten times giving
eir liberty, their possessions, and their
to one of their fellow-citizens; and only
ed for their safety to his virtues. These
te magistrates, it is true, in some measure
d discipline to the army, and increased
ritories of the state; but it was purchasing
est too dear to give up all that was valu-
life for its acquisition. The ill effects in-
f their absolute authority were not disco-
till many years after; at this period, the
seemed pleased with electing a magistrate
their own body, who could intimidate the
: the multitude, on the other hand, were
to follow and obey one who generally led
o conquest and plunder; for the dictators
r divided the spoils of the conquered
among them, in order to increase their
opularity. Thus the plunder of Anxur,
taken from the Volscians, seemed to dif-
new spirit amongst them; which, how-
:ontinued no longer than until their nec-
alled for a new supply.

ould be useless to detail the discordant

tiousness liberty*. At length, how
nate hit upon an expedient, which se
to increase their own power, and
time was highly pleasing to the peo
it evinced how greatly the Romans
from their former virtues. The c
went to the field, had hitherto f
country's battles without pay; the
bandmen and soldiers; the same
brandished the sword at one seasor
holding the plough in another; anc
obliged to furnish not only their ow
their own provisions during the car
these difficulties and deprivations, h
cheerfully acquiesced, as the hopes
and the honours of returning in tri
considered as an ample compensati
theless, it sometimes fell out, that
paign was of long continuance, thei
remained untilled, and they themsel
duced the next season to extrem
Hence they were obliged to incur
hence proceeded that various train
usuries, and petty cruelties, which
made use of to oppress their debt

* During these commotions the Roman arm
their hands in the blood of their general, to
hitherto, in all changes, shewn a high degre
spect. The victim we allude to was Posthum

or rather to mitigate, those evils, the se-
nanimously came to a resolution of pay-
e soldiery out of the treasury; and for
irpose they laid on a new tax, from which
f the citizens were to be exempted. This
tion, in some measure, gave a new turn
Roman mode of warfare; as what might
have been called incursions, were now
ie regular protracted campaigns. The
also had no longer occasion to importune
fluence of the tribunes, in order to raise an
as the people would gladly enlist, since
were sure of their reward. Nothing there-
could exceed their joy upon this occa-
they surrounded the senate-house with ac-
itions; they offered to follow the conscript
s wherever they should lead them, and
ised that their murmurs should now be lost
atitude. The soldiers, indeed, became
supple and more submissive; but they lost
of their patriotism and independence.

ie senate, thus reconciled to the peo- A. C.
nd now become masters of an army 408.
hey could keep in the field as long as
thought proper, resolved to take signal ven-
ce on the Veians, and besiege their capital
though the attempt should endanger their
The city of Veii had long been a flourish-
strong, and formidable place; it was seated
a rock, and furnished with resolute and
rous defenders. It had lately changed its
of government, from a republican to a
; and such a change being disliked by the
of this state, contributed, in some mea-
to their tamely suffering it to be surrounded
he Roman army. The Romans, indeed,
had

had every reason to inspi
ment. The Veians had l
Rome; they had ever take
its internal distresses to rav
had even treated its amba
plain of these injuries, w
therefore determined, th
should cost, was to fall;
cordingly sat regularly dov
for a long and painful resis
of the place may be inferred
of the siege, which lasted
which time, the army
round it, lying, in winter,
the skins of beasts, and i
the operations of the attac
success, and many were t
directed the siege; someti
works were destroyed, and
cut off, by sallies from t
they were annoyed by an
attempted to bring assistan
siege so bloody seemed to t
to Rome itself, by draining
away; so that a law was
for all the bachelors to ma
soldiers who were slain.
people also did not fail to
dertaking still more arduo
murmurs and artifice, in
home. They blamed th
prohibited the taxes from
were to pay the soldiery; a
plex the senate, they began
of the Agrarian law.

Unceasing dissension am

[illegible]ated Furius Camillus dictator; and
s entrusted the sole power of conduct-
ng protracted war. Camillus, with-
se or any solicitation, had raised him-
first eminence in the state: he had
one of the censors some time before,
considered as the head of that office;
erwards made a military tribune, and
s post gained several advantages over
. In short, his courage and abilities
amply tried, and proved him to be
hy to serve his country on this press-
on. Upon his appointment, numbers
ple flocked to his standard, confident
under so experienced a commander.
lingly drew out his forces against the
d overthrew the Falisci, one of the
rs confederated against Rome, with
ghter: the Capenates also shared the
and were obliged to beg protection:
, being thus master of the field, he
l his force to the vigorous prosecution
e of Veii. Conscious, however, that he
e to take the city by storm, he secretly
mine into it, with vast labour, which
to the midst of the citadel. Being
ed of success, and finding the city in-
relief, he sent to the senate, desiring
ho chose to share in the plunder of
ld immediately repair to the army

Then giving his men directions how to enter the breach, the city was instantly filled with h legions, to the amazement and confusion of t besieged, who, but a moment before, had r posed in perfect security. Thus, like a seco Troy, was the city of Veii taken, after a te years' siege, and with its spoils enriched the co querors; while Camillus, transported with t honour of having subdued the rival of his t tive city, triumphed after the manner of t kings of Rome, having his chariot drawn four milk-white horses;—a degree of splen ostentation which disgusted the majority of spectators, and gave them an unfavourable i pression of the general's moderation.

Soon after, however, the people pretended find still greater cause of offence. Their bunes had proposed that the senate and peo should divide into two parts; whereof, one sho continue in Rome, the other should settle Veii, their new conquest. This Camillus earne opposed, and diverted the multitude from t intention, though it procured their anger*. were they less displeased with him, when t found themselves obliged to restore the te part of the plunder they had taken, wh before the siege, he had devoted to Apollo. soldiers, for the most part, had spent th long since; so that they must have been i pable of refunding, had not the Roman wo parted with their golden ornaments, to amount of eight talents of gold, to supply th

* In this Camillus acted like a sound politician, ho unpopular it might be. A rivalry would naturally have between two equal towns, and the consequences might been fatal to both.

s generous action, they were decreed the
ge of having funeral orations pronounced
eir bodies, which had not been allowed
nen before.

illus, however, was rendered by this step
npopular than ever; but he consoled him-
th the reflection that he had discharged a
duty; and such was the respect paid to
ents, that, notwithstanding this general
, he was, some time after, created one of
ilitary tribunes, and sent against the Fa-
who had been making their accustomed
ions upon the Roman territories. His
good fortune attended him in this expedi-
he routed their army, and besieged their
l city Falerii, which threatened a long and
us resistance. The reduction of this little
however, would scarcely have deserved
ing, had it not been for an action of the
n general, that has done him more credit
posterity, than all his triumphs united.
oolmaster, entrusted with the care of the
en belonging to the principal men of the
ound means to decoy them into the Roman
, and offered to put them into the hands of
lus, as the surest means of inducing the
is to a speedy surrender. "With these
d the unprincipled tutor), I deliver you the
n, and I prefer the friendship of the Ro-
is to the post I hold in Falerii." The ge-
, struck with the treachery of a wretch,
duty it was to protect innocence, for some
regarded him with a stern air, but at last
g words, "Execrable villain (cried the
le Roman), offer thy abominable proposals
creatures like thyself, and not to me; what

" though we be the enemies of yo
" there are natural ties that bind a
" which should never be broken.
" duties required from us in war, :
" peace: we fight not against an :
" cence, but against men; men wh
" us ill indeed, but yet, whose crime:
" when compared to thine. Again:
" arts, let it be my duty to use only
" the arts of valour and of arms."
he immediately ordered him to be s
hands tied behind him, and, in that i
manner, to be whipped into the town
scholars. This generous behaviour
effected more than his arms could
the magistrates of the town, who h:
bury themselves in its ruins, imme
mitted to the senate, leaving to C
conditions of their surrender, who
them a sum of money to satisfy his
received them under the protection a
alliance of Rome.

But the veneration which the virt
millus had excited abroad, seemed
adapted to gain the respect of the tu
bunes at home, as they daily raised
accusation against him. To the char
an opposer of their intended migr
Rome to Veii, they added that of
concealed a part of the plunder of
particularly two brazen gates for hi
and appointed him a day on whicl
before the people. Camillus, findin
titude exasperated against him, an
their ingratitude, resolved not to su
ignominy of a trial; but embracin

and children, prepared to depart from Rome. He had already passed as far as one of the gates, unattended, on his way, and unlamented. There he could suppress his indignation no longer; but turning his face to the capitol, and lifting up his hands to heaven, intreated all the Gods, that his country might one day be sensible of their injustice and ingratitude. He then hastened on and took refuge at Ardea, a town at a little distance from Rome, where he afterwards learned that he had been fined fifteen hundred asses, by the tribunes at Rome.

The retreat of Camillus gave infinite pleasure to his enemies; but they soon had reason to repent their injustice, and to wish for the assistance of one who alone was able to protect his country from ruin. For just at this crisis a more terrible and redoubtable enemy began to make his appearance, than the Romans had ever yet encountered. The Gauls, a barbarous nation, had about two centuries before made an irruption from beyond the Alps, and settled in the northern provinces of Italy *. They had been

* Love and wine are said to have first led the Gauls into Italy. Aruns, one of the principal citizens of Clusium, a city of Etruria, had a pupil who pleased his wife; she in her turn charmed the pupil, though the guardian had little reason to be equally pleased with the good understanding between them. He complained to the senate of Clusium, who paid not any attention to his tale. The injured husband then passed the Alps, and produced before the Gauls not his love-sick complaints, but some good wine, with the taste of which h made them acquainted; and praising the coun pr duced this excellent beverage, raised in them a ing it. From the Seine, the Marne, and the out to satisfy their appetites, and to seek climate.

allured to pass their native barrier
liciousness of the wines, and the so
climate; and wherever they cam
possessed the original inhabitants.
men of superior courage, extraordi
wild in their aspect, ferocious in th
and prone to change. Not content
subdued and peopled most of the n
of Italy, they were still inviting
their native deserts beyond the Al
over, and spread terror and desol
fruitful regions of this newly-disco
try. A body of these, wild from t
habitations, were now besieging Clu
of Etruria, under the conduct of Bi
king. The Clusians, frighted at th
and still more at their savage app
treated the assistance, or at least
tion, of the Romans. The senate
had made it a maxim never to refus
their suppliants, were anxious, how
first instance, to send ambassadors t
to dissuade them from their enterp
shew the injustice of their irruption
ingly, three young senators were cl
the family of the Fabii, to manag
mission, who seemed better fitted
than the cabinet. Brennus received
a degree of complaisance, that arg
the barbarian; and, desiring to kn
siness of their embassy, was answer
ing to their instructions, that it wa
mary in Italy to make war, but
grounds of provocation; and that t
to know, what offence the citizens
had given to the king of the Gau

is sternly replied, that the rights of the
lay in their swords; that the Romans
nstitute no other title to the many cities
id conquered; and that he had particular
of resentment against the people of Clu-
as they refused to part with those lands
they had neither hands to till, nor inha-
to occupy. The Roman ambassadors,
ere little used to hear the language of in-
lence, for a while dissembled their resent-
t this haughty reply: but, upon entering
ieged city, instead of acting as ambas-
they forget their sacred characters, and
the citizens in a sally against the be-
. In this combat, Fabius Ambustus
Gaul with his own hand, but was dis-
d while he was despoiling him of his
r. A conduct so unjust and indecorous,
the resentment of Brennus, who having
his complaint by a herald to the senate,
ding no redress, immediately broke up
ge of Clusium, and marched his con-
army to attack Rome herself.

countries through which the Gauls passed,
rapid progress, made little resistance;
ives being terrified at their vast numbers,
ceness of their natures, and their dreadful
ations for war. But the rage and impe-
of this ferocious people were directed
against Rome. They went on with-
ing the least intentional injury in their
breathing vengeance only against the
is, whom they considered alone as ag-
s.

Roman army at this conjuncture was
the command of six military tribunes;

the

the number of their forces, which amounted to forty thousand men, was nearly equal to those of Brennus; but the soldiers were less obedient, and the generals had not confidence in each other, so as to unite for their mutual safety. The two armies met near the river Allia, eleven miles from the city, both equally confident of victory, both equally disdaining to survive a defeat. The leaders on either side put their forces in array; the Romans, to prevent being surrounded, extended their lines, and placed the best legions in the wings of their army. The Gauls, on the other hand, by a happy disposition, had their choice men in the middle; and with these they made the most desperate attack. The centre of the Roman army, unable to withstand the impetuosity of the charge, quickly gave way; while the two wings saw themselves in a manner divided from each other, and their centre occupied by the enemy. They made, for a time, a feeble attempt to unite; but finding it impracticable, a rout ensued, in which the Romans seemed to have lost all power, not only of resistance, but of flight. Nothing but terror and confusion reigned through their broken ranks; the wretched remains of their army were either drowned in attempting to cross the Tiber, or hastened to take refuge in Veii, while only a few of them returned to Rome, with the dreadful intelligence of their overthrow. All hopes of resistance in the field being now over, the remaining inhabitants that were able to bear arms, threw themselves into the capitol, which they fortified, in order to hold out a siege. The rest of the people, a poor and forlorn multitude of old men, women, and children, endeavoured

ed to hide themselves in some of the neighbouring towns, or resolved to await the conqueror's fury, and lie in death under the ruins of their native city. But more particularly the ancient senators and priests, struck with a religious enthusiasm on this occasion, resolved to devote their lives to atone for the crimes of the people, and, habited in their robes of ceremony, placed themselves in the forum, on their ivory chairs. The Gauls, in the mean time, were giving a loose to their triumph, in sharing and enjoying the plunder of the enemies' camp.

Had they indeed immediately marched to Rome upon gaining the victory, the capitol itself would have yielded, but they continued two days feasting upon the field of battle, and, with barbarous pleasure, exulting amidst their slaughtered foes. On the third day after the victory, the facility of which amazed the Gauls themselves, Brennus appeared with all his forces before the city. He was at first much surprised to find the gates wide open to receive him, and the walls defenceless; so that he began to impute the unguarded situation of the place to a stratagem of the Romans. After proper precautions, however, he entered the city, and marching into the forum, there beheld the ancient senators sitting in their order, observing a profound silence, unmoved and undaunted. The splendid habits, the majestic gravity, and the venerable looks of these old men, who had all borne the highest offices of the state, awed the barbarous enemy into reverence; they took them to be the tutelar deities of the place, and began to offer blind adoration, till one, more forward than the rest, put forth his hand

A. C. 383. U. C. 365.

stroke the beard of Papyrius, who had on
joyed the dignity of dictator. An insu
gross the noble Roman could not endur
lifting up his ivory sceptre, struck the sav
the ground. This seemed as a signal for
ral slaughter; Papyrius fell first, and a
rest shared his fate, without mercy or distin
Thus the fierce invaders pursued their slau
for three days successively, sparing neith
nor age, and then setting fire to the city
short time every house was reduced to a
of ashes, and Rome became nearly a wast

At this crisis all the hopes of the Roman
placed in the capitol: every thing withou
fortress was but an extensive scene of miser
solation, and despair. All the magni
buildings, which were once the pride of F
were now become a heap of shapeless
Nor was it the city alone that felt the u
rage of the conquerors, but all the neigh
ing towns, that were accessible to their i
sions, shared the same fate, and were
without distinction. Still, however, the c
remained; and Brennus tried every art ir
to reduce it. He first ineffectually sumn
the garrison, with threats, to surrender
then resolved to besiege it in form, and er
passed it with his army. Nevertheless, th
mans repelled his attempts with great bra
for despair had now supplied them with tha
severance and vigour, which had they s
more early, would have saved them fron
catastrophe.

The siege had continued for above six m
the provisions of the garrison were almo
hausted, their numbers lessened with con
fa

, and nothing seemed to remain but death,
nission to the mercy of the conquerors,
was dreaded more even than death itself.
rt, they had resolved upon dying, when
ere revived from their despondence, by
pearance of a man whom they saw climb-
the rock. and whom they knew, upon
ival, to be a messenger from their friends
t. This person's name was Pontius
inus, a young plebeian, who had swam
the Tiber by night, passed through the
's guards; and, with extreme fatigue,
d up the capitoline rock, with tidings to
sieged, that Camillus, their expatriated
r, was levying an army for their relief;
e citizens of Ardea and Veii had armed
favour, and had made him their general;
at he only waited his country's confir-
of their choice, to enter the field and
e barbarians battle.

Romans were struck with a mixture of
and abashment, to find that the man
they had injuriously spurned from the
was now, in its desperate state, ready to
its defender. They instantly chose him
ir Dictator, with an enthusiasm which his
deserved, and prepared to sustain the
with recruited vigour. Thus the mes-
having received his answer and proper

ral loaves to be thrown into his camp,
e him of the futility of his expecta-
rustrated in this aim, his hopes were
ived, when some of his soldiers came
a him, that they had discovered traces
teps which led up to the rock, and by
hey supposed the capitol might be sur-

Accordingly, a chosen body of his
ere ordered by night upon this dangerous
e, which they with great labour and dif-
y almost effected: they had got indeed
the very wall; the Roman sentinel was
asleep; their dogs within gave no alarm
all promised an instant victory; when th
rison were awakened by the gabbling of sor
ered geese, that had been kept in the tem
Juno. The besieged instantly perceived
minence of their danger, and each snatch
he weapon he could instantly find, ran to
pose the assailants. Manlius, a patrician c
knowledged bravery, was the first who ex
all his strength, and inspired courage by
ample. He boldly mounted the rampar
at one effort threw two Gauls headlong
the precipice: others hastened to his ass
and the walls were cleared of the enemy
in an instant.

After this failure, the hopes of the b
began to decline, and Brennus seem
wished for an opportunity of raising the
credit. His soldiers often held confe
the besieged, while upon duty, a
posals for an accommodation wer
desired by the common men, befo
thought of negociation. At leng
manders on both sides came to

ls should immediately quit the city
es of Rome, upon being paid a
nds weight of gold. This agree-
onfirmed by oath on either side, the
ought forth; but upon weighing,
ttempted fraudulently to kick the
ch the Romans complaining, Bren-
ly cast his sword and belt into the
out, that the only portion of the
was to suffer. By this reply, the
that they were at the victor's mercy;
was in vain to expostulate against
ıs he should be pleased to impose.
juncture, however, and while they
bating upon the ransom, it was ru-
Camillus, the dictator, was at the
rge army, hastening to their relief,
the gates of Rome. Camillus ac-
ıred soon after, and entering the
troversy, with the air of one who
not to suffer imposition, demanded
the contest; of which being in-
ordered the gold to be taken and
to the capitol: "For it has ever
been the manner with us Romans, to
r country, not with gold, but with
I only that am to make peace, as
dictator of Rome, and my sword
purchase it." The enraged Gauls
a battle ensued; and so total was
Brennus and his followers, that they
disappeared from Italy, leaving no
ose of their ravages behind them.
y was indeed annihilated, but Rome
heap of ruins; no part of its former
remained, except the capitol; and

the greatest number of its former inh
had gone to take refuge in Veii. The t
of the people, therefore, those men unh
but in the calm of peace, began once
urge for the removal of the poor rem
Rome to Veii, where they might have h
shelter, and walls to defend them. On
casion, Camillus, steady to his former pri
attempted to appease them, with all the
persuasion; observing, that it was unw
them, both as Romans and as men, t
the venerable seats of their ancestors, wh
had been encouraged by repeated mark
vine approbation, to remove to and in
city which they themselves had conquer
which wanted even the good fortune of de
itself. By these and such-like remonstra
prevailed upon the people to relinquish t
sign of abandoning Rome; and to set al
building its ruined edifices. Like a ph
quickly sprung from its ashes; but c
with diminished beauty and regularity.

These successes of Camillus were, i
measure, but preparatory to future v
He was made dictator the next year, u
irruption of the neighbouring states, and
another triumph; and about three yea
overthrew the Latins, who had revolte
Rome, after a submission of more
hundred years. Such a train of good
served to render Camillus almost abs
Rome; his moderation and patriotism
ever, prevented his making an improp
his power, unless his conduct to Manli
tolinus may be regarded as an act of u
verity.

ravery of Manlius in defending the
and saving the remains of Rome, has
been recorded. For this the people
no means ungrateful, having built him
near the place where his valour was so
nous, and having appointed him a pub-
d for his support. But his ambition was
be satisfied with such trifling rewards;
pired not only as being equal to Camillus,
o be sovereign of Rome. With this view,
boured to ingratiate himself with the po-
ce, paid their debts, and railed at the other
icians, whom he styled their oppressors.
e senate was not ignorant of his discourses
his designs, and to counteract them, created
rnelius Cossus dictator, under pretext of
nding him against the Volscians, who had made
me successful irruptions into the Roman ter-
itories; but in reality with a view to curb the
nordinate ambition of Manlius. The dictator
oon finished his expedition against the foreign
enemy by a victory; and upon his return, called
Manlius to an account, and put him in prison
for his conduct at home. Manlius, however
was too much the darling of the populace, t
be affected by the power of Cossus; and
partisans were too loud in their clamours,
permit any injury to be done to their favour
Cossus was obliged to lay down his office,
Manlius was carried from confinement,
triumph through the city. This success
served to inflame his ambition. He began
to talk of a division of the lands among
people; insinuated that there should be n
tinctions in the state; and to give weight
discourses, he always appeared at the hea

large body of the dregs of the people, whom h largesses had made his followers. The ci being thus filled with sedition and clamour, t senate were obliged to have recourse to anoth expedient, and to oppose the power of Camill to that of the demagogue. Camillus accor ingly being made one of the military tribun appointed Manlius a day to answer for his li The place in which he was tried was near t capitol, where, being accused of sedition, a of aspiring at sovereignty, he only turned h eyes, and, pointing thither, put them in mi of what he had achieved for his country on t spot. The multitude, whose compassion whose justice seldom springs from rational m tives, refused to condemn him, while he plea ed in sight of the capitol; but when he w brought to the Peteline grove, from when the capitol was no longer to be seen, they co demned him to be thrown headlong from t Tarpeian rock. Thus, the place which h been the theatre of his glory, became that his punishment and his infamy. His house, which his conspiracies had been secretly carri on, was ordered to be rased to the ground; a his family were forbidden ever after to assur the name of Manlius.

A. C. 373. In a short time the affection and gr titude of the people returned for Ma lius, and while his death was lamente it in some measure renewed the murmurs the tribunes and the people against Camill whom they considered as the chief instrume of his prosecution. Unwilling to suppose thei selves guilty of a severity to which they ha given their consent, they began to turn their r sentme

ment upon the most worthy man of the
, as if to aggravate their baseness. How-
, such was the fate of the Roman republic,
Camillus never wanted a fortunate oppor-
ty of bringing the multitude back to their
ration for his talents. Being chosen mili-
tribune a sixth time, though much against
consent, he, with his colleague Lucius Fu-
marched against the Volscians: the latter,
g a young man, was all eagerness to engage
enemy; the other, tempering his courage
moderation, wished to wait for a favoura-
opportunity. This backwardness in Camillus
he attack, Furius ascribed to the timidity
ld age, or to the envy of a man unwilling to
it a partner in his fame; he, therefore,
d the opportunity, when Camillus was sick,
obliged to keep his bed, to lead on his forces
attle. But he too soon perceived the teme-
of his own conduct, and the wisdom of
illus's advice; his army was almost defeated,
an universal flight was about to ensue, when
eteran general roused from his bed, and be-
elped on horseback, old and infirm as he was,
himself at the head of a small body of men,
sing those that fled, and bringing them furi-
y up against their pursuers. "Is this (cried
) the victory you promised yourselves? here is no shelter for you here. Return!" intrepidity of one man spread itself through whole army; his soldiers quickly rallied, lving never to forsake a general under whom had so often fought victoriously, and whom considered as invincible. The enemy being repulsed, the combat was renewed the following, in which they were totally de-

feated; and Camillus returned to Ro
more laden with the spoils of conquest.
successes abroad could allay the disse
home. The debtors began to complain
hardships with the same importunate
as formerly. The inhabitants of Pra
town belonging to the Latins, also ma
sions upon the Roman territories. T
these internal and external grievances,
Cincinnatus was chosen dictator, w
Præneste by surrender, and returned in
with the statue of Jupiter Imperator, v
placed in the capitol; a circumstanc
though of little seeming importance
appears first to have excited the desi
tending conquest among the Romans.

Two years after this, the contests
the patricians and tribunes broke out wi
than usual violence. Many of the p
during the distresses of their country, h
by accident or by courage acquired la
tunes, and this produced a desire of sha
only in the government, but in the ho
Rome. The people, as has already been
had aspired at the consulship; and th
by a trifling subterfuge granted them
tribunes, who were possessed of consular
but as this was insufficient to satisfy the
the tribunes of the people renewed their
while the poorer part of the citizens, onl
upon acquiring the necessaries of life,
little affected with its honours, were cal
tators of the contest.

About this period, an incident in pri
fomented by female jealousy and ambiti
a very considerable influence on the publ

Fabius Ambustus, a tribune of the
ad two daughters, one of whom he mar-
patrician, the other to a plebeian. The
s wife coming one day to visit her sister,
ck with envy at the honours which the
ceived, in consequence of her patrician
and from envying, fell into a settled
oly. Her father and husband, for a
e, conjured her to tell them the reasons
teration in her disposition, which she at
illingly revealed. Her weak but affec-
ather, though himself a patrician, in or-
mfort his daughter, was prevailed upon
ier assurances, that he would instantly
r means in his power, to make her an
rer in the dignities of the state with her
nd not to be deficient in his promise,
t time consulted with her husband about
g a law, for electing one consul out of
of the people. Their first step was to
husband chosen a tribune of the people;
, in order to ingratiate themselves with
itude, they proposed, with the same law
ade pretensions to the consulship, that
arian law, for the equal partition of
ould also be passed; a measure which,

every thing was tending to ruin, the illustriou Camillus was chosen dictator, who finding th people resolute in their designs of choosing plebeian consul immediately, laid down his o fice. Upon his resignation, another dictato was chosen by the senate; but this high offic had been so often created when there was n absolute necessity, that its authority began t decline, while that of the tribunes rose upon it ruins. The dictator's name was Publius Man lius: he seems to have done little remarkable if we except his creating Licinius Stolo his ma ster of the horse, who was the first plebeian, pos sessed of that dignity. This Stolo, by his in fluence, obtained a law to be passed, that n man should possess above five hundred acres o land*. This was greatly disadvantageous t the patricians; but what shews that the princi ples of demagogues in all ages are the same Stolo was soon after found desirous of privately possessing more land than by his own law h was entitled to share; and, in consequenc thereof, was punished by his own edict!

In this manner the flame of contention being kindled between the two orders of the state, they carried on their resentments with acrimony and perseverance, while foreign enemies only serve to allay, but not to extinguish, their animosity Another invasion of the Gauls, to oppose whom Camillus was a fifth time made dictator, for a time repressed and gave a transient pause to these inter nal commotions. The terror which this people had

* Nothing can more clearly evince an ignorance in the science of politics, than the mischievous, though popular plan of establishing a maximum, to whatever it may relate.

inspired

inspired was then so great among the Romans, that a law was made to excuse priests from all wars, "unless in an invasion of the Gauls." However, Camillus taught his countrymen the way to subdue them. Being sensible that the chief weapon of this fierce people was the sword, he furnished his soldiers with iron helmets, and had their targets bound round with brass; and, at the same time, taught them the art of using their own arms, to the best advantage. By these means he rendered the swords of the Gauls so unserviceable, that giving them battle near the river Anio, he gained an easy victory; so that the Romans now began to despise the Gauls as much as they had dreaded them before.

A victory so important and so grateful, it might be supposed, would have rendered Camillus absolute at Rome. But whether from his advanced age, his indifference to public affairs, or the increasing power of the tribunes, he had now lost much of the authority he once possessed. The law for creating a plebeian consul being still agitated with increasing animosity, the senate, as usual, strongly opposed it, and forbade Camillus to lay down his dictatorship; in hopes that, under the influence of his power, and the exertion of his talents, they might be able to support their honour against the pretensions of the people. But while Camillus was dispatching public affairs, the tribunes took the opportunity of ordering, that the votes of the people should be taken upon their favourite measure. The dictator opposing this attempt with all his might, they sent a lictor to arrest and conduct him to prison. Such a mark of indignity offered to a magistrate who had been

hitherto

hitherto held sacred, and particularly t
who had deserved so well, raised a gre:
motion than had yet been seen in Rome.
tricians, who surrounded the dictator, t
pulsed the lictors, while the people w
below, with equal fury, cried out, "D
him, down with him."

In this universal uproar, Camillus
only person that seemed unmoved.
treated that the tribunes would give a r
pause to their attempts; then calling the
round him, and conducting them to
bouring temple, he implored them to g
to the city by their compliance; ther
his face towards the capitol, as if to t
farewel of all future endeavours to
country, he vowed to build a temple
cord, in case he saw peace restored to
ple. In consequence of his advice, a
made that one of the consuls, for th
should be chosen from the p
A. C. 352. Sextus, who had long been a
tribune of the people, was the
U. C. 396. beian that was raised to this l
nity. After him succeeded Lic
husband of her whom we have
mentioned as languishing with the
rank. There was also at this time
magistrates created from the patricians
a prætor*, who was to supply the pla
consul in the absence of that magist
to administer justice to the people, in

* On the first appointment of prætor he was
the second magistrate in the republic; but his po
when he participated it with several.

an officer so necessary to the
nber of prætors was, in after
sixteen There were also two
ted, officers so called to dis-
n the ædiles of the people, as
ie chair and other ensigns of
ding them, which the latter
e chief business of these was,
f the public games, and of the
is taken in war.

having spent a long life in the
ıtry, throughout which he had
not to be shaken by danger,
which even the ingratitude of
ıot alter, resigned the dictator-
emple to Concord, according
, however, he survived but two
ie plague, in the eighty-second
nd leaving behind him the re-
the second founder of Rome.
ı it is said, that he never gave
is not followed by a complete
ıever besieged a town without
at he never drew forth an ar-
ght it back laden with spoils,
ı glory. He often owed his
o his personal courage as to the
iers; and no general better un-
rekindle the fainting ardour, or
ıvering resolution, of his army.
'ain that measures were taken
; reconciliation between the pa-
people; their disputes revived
ion; for, whenever new magis-
chosen, each party trying all
ıave the election in their own
favour,

soon after obtained, by their complaints, t
the curule ædiles chosen, every second
out of their own body, and even at leng
vailed to have Marcus Rutilius, a plebeian
dictator. To balance this, the patricians v
the consulship from the people, after the
enjoyed it ten years; and four years afte
were obliged to restore it. Even the elec
a censor produced equal animosity; and
many contests, the plebeian, who had be
tator, was elected to the office, against the
efforts of the patricians.

During these contests at home, the R
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Pennus, the dictator, returned with a tri
Two succeeding victories were gained o

…tting a stop to the contagion.
…usiness he executed with great cere-
…ing it on the right side of Jupiter's
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…essively chosen, merely to hold the
…or assembly of the people, for a new
…f consuls: thus the office became de-
…y its being prostituted to purposes un-
…f its origin.

…s manner, therefore, the Romans went
…ly forward, with a mixture of turbulence
…erstition within their walls, and success-
…rprise without. Their contentions at
…aking their wars abroad less painful and
…g, naturally produced in them a turn to
… glory. Their superstition also served
…p to their progress; for, when the bonds
…rity no longer prevailed, the priests were
…sure to bind the people by the ties of re-
…ligion, what an implicit obedience they
… already been seen

favour, hesitated not to use both fraud violence to compass their desires. Thus t nate suspended all measures against the fo enemy, lest the plebeian consul, newly cle should share the glory. Thus also the p soon after obtained, by their complaints, to the curule ædiles chosen, every second out of their own body, and even at length vailed to have Marcus Rutilius, a plebeian, dictator. To balance this, the patricians wr the consulship from the people, after they enjoyed it ten years; and four years after were obliged to restore it. Even the electi a censor produced equal animosity; and many contests, the plebeian, who had been tator, was elected to the office, against the u efforts of the patricians.

During these contests at home, the Ron however, were neither unemployed, nor u cessful in their foreign wars. They obtai signal victory over the Hernici; so that dius Crassinus, the dictator, had the hono an ovation allowed him by the senate. obtained another over the Gauls, and Qu Pennus, the dictator, returned with a triu Two succeeding victories were gained ove same people by two different dictators; nar Servilius Ahala and Sulpicius Deticus, both triumphed in their turns. We read wise of a fourth triumph over the Gauls by rius Camillus, who was created dictator to pose them. The Arunci also, a people w country was situated beyond that of the V made some incursions, but were repulse Camillus, who was created dictator a se time for that purpose.

ere dictators created only for thus re- e sudden incursions of the enemy, but more trifling purposes. In the times rue we find one created, namely Man- tolinus, merely to drive a nail, as a putting a stop to the contagion. This t business he executed with great cere- iving it on the right side of Jupiter's nto the capitol. Two dictators also cessively chosen, merely to hold the n or assembly of the people, for a new of consuls: thus the office became de- by its being prostituted to purposes un- f its origin.

manner, therefore, the Romans went y forward, with a mixture of turbulence rstition within their walls, and success- prise without. Their contentions at aking their wars abroad less painful and , naturally produced in them a turn to glory. Their superstition also served to their progress; for, when the bonds rity no longer prevailed, the priests were ure to bind the people by the ties of re- With what an implicit obedience they d to their pontiffs, has already been seen instances; and how far they might be , even to encounter death itself at their d, will evidently appear from the be- of Curtius about this time; who, upon ing of a gulf in the forum, which the

considerable part of the kingdom of Napl
They were equally powerful in numbers a
discipline with the Romans; and had, like the
confederated states in their train. Two su
aspiring neighbours, both fond of arms a
inured to war, could not long want a pretext
rupture. The pretended occasion was, that t
Samnites had oppressed the Sidicini, who, b
ing too weak to manage the war alone, call
in the Campanians to their assistance, and th
also being overthrown, implored the assistan
of the Romans. The senate for some time,
order to give a colour of justice to their am
tion, seemed to defer granting aid against t
Samnites, as being their friends and allies: b
the importunate entreaties of the Campani
ambassadors, and the offers of the rich count
which they inhabited; and, still more, the
fual of the Samnites to desist from ravaging
country which the Romans considered as th
own, determined them at length to try t
fortune of war. Valerius Corvus and Corneli
were the two consuls to whose care it first f
to manage this dreadful contention between
val states, that, for the space of sixty years aft
deluged Italy with blood. Valerius had t
character of being one of the greatest commar
ers of his time; he was surnamed Corvus, fro
a singular circumstance of being assisted by
crow in a single combat with a Gaul of gigan
stature, whom he fought and killed. To his c
league's care it was consigned to lead an arı
to Samnium, the enemy's capital; while Cor
was sent to relieve Capua, the capital of t
Campanians. Never was general better fitt
for command: to a habit naturally robust a
athle

athletic, he joined the gentlest manners: he was the fiercest, and yet the best tempered man in the army; and, while the meanest sentinel was his companion, no man exacted a stricter discipline: but what completes his character, he constantly endeavoured to preserve his honours and dignities, by the same arts by which they were first acquired. The Roman soldiers, hardened by incessant labour, and led on by such a general, were unconquerable. The Samnites, on the other hand, were the bravest men they ever yet encountered; and the contention between the two nations was managed on both sides with the most determined resolution. But the fortune of Rome prevailed; the Samnites at length fled, averring, that they were not able to withstand the fierce looks and the fire-darting eyes of the Romans. Valerius, the other consul, however, was not at first so fortunate; for, having unwarily led his army into a defile, he was in imminent danger of being cut off, had not Decius, a tribune of the army, possessed himself of a hill which commanded the enemy; so that the Samnites being attacked on both sides, were defeated with immense slaughter, not less than thirty thousand of them being left dead upon the field of battle: a proof of the courage of the combatants and the numbers that were engaged.

After this great engagement, which however was far from being decisive of the destiny of either people, the inhabitants of Capua requested to have a Roman garrison to winter there, to secure them from the insults of the Samnites. Their desire was accordingly complied with; though Capua was ever infamous for being the

destroyer of military discipline, and for
vating its protectors. It offered indeed so
delights, and gratified so largely all the
passions, that the Roman garrison began t
not only their courage, but their virtue.
formed a design of destroying the inhabit
and taking the town to themselves.
treacherous scheme they communicated to
companions in other parts of the country,
they as readily embraced the proposal. B
length it reached the ears of the officers,
detesting such baseness, led the legions int
field, and kept them in action, in order to
a more honourable turn to their minds.
notwithstanding the care of the general an
officers, the soldiers, finding themselves lia
the severest punishments for their late perfi
schemes, began to mutiny; and uniting t
selves into one body, marched directly for
towards Rome. For some time they were
out a leader, no man being bold enough or
enough to head an army whose only bo
union was treachery. At length they f
Quintius, an old and eminent soldier, wh
then residing in the country, to be their
mander; and, conducted by rage rather
their general, came within eight miles o
city. So terrible an army, almost at the g
not a little alarmed the senate, who i
diately created Valerius Corvus dictator,
sent him forth with another body of men t
pose their fellow-citizens. The two armies
now drawn up against each other, while fa
and sons beheld themselves prepared to en
in opposite causes, and to fall by mutual wo

A less humane and prudent general than

ıld, perhaps, have brought this civil war
l extremity; but he knowing his influence
the soldiery, instead of pushing forward
sh the mutineers, approached with the
ordial friendship to embrace his old ac-
nces. "I have had," exclaimed he,
rtunities enough of shewing my valour
ır, I now only want to acquire reputa-
by making peace. You cannot distrust
ny friends, or think Valerius Corvus can
be severe, who never yet gave his voice
ve one law enacted in the senate that was
ary to your interests. You cannot think
ill be severe, whose austerities were ever
ised only upon himself. But, whatever
do, I am resolved to behave as becomes
if I draw my sword, it shall not be till
ıave first drawn yours; if blood must be
, you shall begin the slaughter. But
n will you destroy? Not your enemies,
he Samnites, nor the Volscians, but your
ers, brothers, children, and countrymen;
in the view of those very mountains where
were born and bred. But let it not be so.

Quintius, if indeed you are the com-
der of this shameful expedition, have only
ık with reason, and we will grant with
y." The whole army seemed affected
his speech. Quintius, as their speaker,
esired to have their revolt forgiven; and
himself, as he was innocent of their con-
, he had no reason to solicit pardon for
ences. Thus, this defection, which a
reatened such dangers to Rome, was
by the prudence and moderation of a
whose ambition it was to be kind to
frie-

friends, and formidable only to his enemies. The mutineers were once more received into favour, and the dictator, having honourably and advantageously performed his commission, laid down his office.

After this, as the war with the Samnites had been for some time carried on with various success, and the balance seemed to vibrate in uncertainty, it was thought advisable to conclude a peace, the terms of which were so offensive to the Latins and the Campanians, that it induced them to revolt. The former carried their demands so far as to insist, that one of the consuls, and half the senate, should be chosen out of their body, before they would submit to think of accommodation. The Romans at first tried by gentle means to divert them from their purpose; but they insisted upon it still more resolutely, ascribing the lenity of Rome to its fears. In order, therefore, to chastise them into reason, the two consuls, Manlius Torquatus, and his colleague, Decius Mus, were sent by the senate to invade their country. The Latins were not remiss in their preparations for a defence; so that the two armies met with equal animosity, and a bloody and obstinate battle ensued. In this battle, the strict discipline of the Romans and their amazing patriotism were displayed in a manner that has excited rather the wonder than the applause of posterity. As the Latins and Romans were a neighbouring people, and their habits, arms, and language, were the same, the most exact discipline was necessary, to prevent confusion in the engagement. Orders, therefore, were issued by Manlius the consul, that no soldier should leave his ranks upon what-

ever

er provocation; and that he should be cer-inly put to death, who should offer to violate is injunction. Both armies were drawn into ray, and ready to begin, when Metius, the eneral of the enemies' cavalry, pushed forward om his lines, and challenged any knight in the oman army to single combat. For some time here was a general pause, no soldier offering to isobey his orders, till Titus Manlius, the con-ul's son, burning with shame to see the whole ody of the Romans intimidated, boldly singled ut against Metius. The soldiers, on both sides, or a while suspended the general engagement, o be spectators of this fierce encounter. The wo champions drove their horses against each ther with the utmost spirit and impetuosity: Metius wounded his adversary's horse in the eck; but Manlius, with better fortune, killed hat of Metius. The Latin being thus prostrate on the ground, for a while attempted to support himself upon his shield; but the Roman followed his blows with so much force, that he laid him dead as he was endeavouring to rise; and then despoiling him of his armour, returned in triumph to the consul his father's tent, where he was preparing and giving orders relative to the engagement.

Loudly as the acclamations of his fellow-soldiers followed the deed, the generous youth approached his father with a modest hesitation. "My father," said he, "I have followed your "heroic example. A Latin warrior challenged "me to single combat, and I bring his spoils "and lay them at your feet." "Unhappy boy," cried the father, with a stern look and an inflex-ible resolution, "as thou hast regarded neither

"the

" the dignity of the consulship, nor the com-
" mands of thy father; as thou hast destroyed
" military discipline, and set a pattern of dis-
" obedience by thy example; thou hast reduced
" me to the deplorable extremity of sacrificing
" my son or my country. But let us not hesi-
" tate in this dreadful alternative: a thousand
" lives were well lost in such a cause; nor do I
" think that thou thyself wilt refuse to die, when
" thy country is to reap the advantage of thy
" sufferings. Go, lictor, bind him, and let his
" death be our future example." As he uttered these words, he crowned him in the sight of his whole army, and then caused his head to be cut off. The whole army was struck with horror at this unnatural decree; fear, for a while, kept them in suspense; but when they saw their young champion's head struck off, and his blood streaming upon the ground, they could no longer contain their execrations and their groans. The dead body was carried forth without the camp, and being adorned with the spoils of the vanquished enemy, was buried with all the pomp of military distress, and all the commiseration which was due to such ill-requited heroism.

Meanwhile the battle began with mutual fury; and as the two armies had often fought under the same leaders, they combated with all the animosity of a civil war. The Latins chiefly depended on their bodily strength; the Romans on their invincible courage and conduct. Forces so nearly matched seemed only to require the protection of their deities, to turn the scale of victory; and in fact, the augurs had foretold, that whatever part of the Roman army should be distressed, the commander of that part should devote

self for his country, and die as a sa-
e infernal gods. Manlius command-
wing, and Decius led on the left.
ought, for some time, with doubtful
their courage was equal; and it is
vish that if one general must be sa-
ıe event, the lot should have fallen on
ting Manlius; but the fortune of war
ıerwise. The wing commanded by
ıg repulsed, the general resolved to
self to his country, and to offer his
; an atonement to save his army.
ul peculiarity of this ceremony, cal-
nake an impression on the multitude,
lace in history. The consul, with a
called on the Pontiff Valerius to ful-
, and dictate to him the words of
. His soldiers, in profound atten-
ınded him. The pontiff commanded
aside his military habit, and to put
e, bordered with purple, which he
e senate. Then, covering his head
, he ordered him to raise his hand
robe to his chin, and, standing on
to pronounce these words: "O
ıpiter, Mars, Romulus, Bellona, ye
gods! ye heroes who dwell in
and all ye gods who preside over us
our enemies; more particularly, ye
leities! I invoke you all; I earnestly
ɔu to grant victory to us, and spread
idst our enemies! I devote myself for
e of Rome, for the army, the legions,
llies of the Romans; and I devote at
time, to the earth and infernal deities,
r and auxiliaries of our enemies."

After

After pronouncing these words, he vaulted o his horse, and rushed like lightning into th midst of the enemy.

The strange appearance of a man unarme and in a robe of office, surprising the enemy, h easily broke their lines, and penetrated to th centre; but as it was observed that he struck o all sides, like a mad man, covering the groun near him with dead, a flight arrows pierced hi on every side, and he fell on a heap of slain.

In the mean time, the Roman army conside ed his devoting himself in this manner as an a surance of success; nor was the superstition o the Latins less powerfully influenced by his r solution; in consequence a total rout began t ensue; the Romans pressed them on every sid and so great was the carnage, that scarce fourth part of the enemy survived the defeat * This was the last battle of any consequence th the Latins had with the Romans; they we forced to sue for peace, and obtained it upon har A. C. 323. conditions. Two years after, their strong est city, Pædum, being taken, they we brought into an entire submission to th Roman power, and ceased to think of indepe dent rights.

The Samnites, however, were still unco quered. Although an insecure peace had be made with them some time before, neith side seemed long inclined to preserve it. The giving assistance to the Campanians, who h formerly begged the protection of the Roma against them, and now entreating theirs again

* This battle was fought at the foot of Mount Vesuvi whence it appears that the Romans already began to act a distance from the capital.

Rom

ome, renewed a war, which, though inter-itted by various treaties and suspensions, was to d only with the ruin of the Samnites. For some me, indeed, the fate of either nation seemed ncertain; for though the Samnites were in ge-ral worsted, a signal disgrace which the Ro-ans sustained about this time made a pause in eir usual good fortune, and wholly turned the ale for a while in the enemy's favour. The nate having refused the Samnites equal and asonable terms of accommodation, Pontius, eir general, was resolved to gain by stratagem hat he had frequently lost by force. Accord-gly, leading his army into a defile, called audium, and taking possession of all its out-es, he sent ten of his soldiers, habited like epherds, with directions to throw themselves the way of the Romans. Exactly to his wishes, e Roman consul met them, and taking them r what they appeared, demanded the route the mnite army had taken: they, with seeming difference, replied, that they were gone to uceria, a town in Apulia, and were then ac-ally besieging it. The Roman general, not specting the stratagem that was laid for m, marched directly by the shortest road, hich lay through the occupied defiles, to relieve e city; and was not undeceived, till he saw s army surrounded, and blocked up on every le. So completely were they hemmed in, that the Gods themselves," says Livy, "could not have delivered them without a miracle." he Samnites having thus got the Roman army holly in their power, immediately dispatched essengers to Herennius, their general's father, r instructions how to proceed. The old crafty

Samnite, who knew the disposition of th
mans, and that a fierce enemy was either
entirely vanquished, or entirely won, a
his son indiscriminately to put them all
sword, or to dismiss them without shame
jury; urging at the same time, that one o
two ways was absolutely necessary; th
might incapacitate them from future annc
the last would lay them under an eterna
of obligation. This counsel, though th
prudent that could be imagined, was n
by the general; and a middle course was
ed, which only served to exasperate th
mans, but not to subdue them. I
A. C. 311. obliged their army to pass under th
after having stripped them of all bu
U. C. 437. under garments: he then stipulate
they should wholly quit the territ
the Samnites; and that they should reli
adhere to the conditions of amity former
blished between the two nations *.

* A little before this signal disgrace to the arms o
an inconceivable frenzy had seized the Roman matr
induced them to form the horrible plot of poisoning t
bands. Some authors reckon as many as three hun
sixty, all women of distinction, who took part in it.
mention only one hundred and seventy, which is n
but it is difficult to believe, that so many wome
have united in such a crime. Many patricians perish
out any suspicion of the crime, to perpetuate which,
spirators had fixed on a time when the plague rac
vages, at Rome, to whose dreadful venom it lent i
ance. They were, at length, discovered by a slave
of them surprised by the consuls in the very act of
the poisoned beverage, which was to rid them of
maining husbands. They declared them to be only
preparations, of salutary efficacy; but being ordere

The Romans were constrained to submit to this ignominious treaty, and marched into Capua disarmed, half naked, and burning with a desire of retrieving their lost honour. When the army arrived at Rome, the whole city was most deeply afflicted at their shameful return. Nothing but fury and revenge appeared on every face; while the consuls, who were the unfortunate instruments of their disgrace, refused to appear abroad, or to perform the necessary functions of their office. A dictator was chosen, who, having no opportunity of acting, laid down his office; and the state continued for some time without any supreme magistrate at its head, the people being sunk in a torpid indifference; which was afterwards relieved by grief and resentment, mourning and rage.

The calamity was severely felt, but its effects

proof of them on themselves, they hesitated, and demanding a conference first with the rest of their accomplices, they drank together of the fatal cup and expired. The Romans looked on this to be the effect of some vertiginous spirit, or a kind of evil fate which influenced their women, and devoted them for expiatory sacrifices. But is it not possible in times of ignorance and superstition, like those of which we now write, that the magistrates gave too easy belief to the accusation? The women had no choice but that of acknowledging their crime, or drinking their mixture. They would, undoubtedly, have preferred the latter, if certain of the innocence of the composition. But these potions which were intended for the diseased, when received into healthy and unprepared bodies, might possibly become really a poison to them, and destroy both their honour and their lives. In this case the husbands were most guilty. This supposition is surely much more conformable to the received character of the Roman matrons, so celebrated for their wisdom and fidelity, the purity of their morals, and the virtues of their sex, carried so often by them even to heroism.

were only transitory. The state ha
diminution of its glory, but not of i
only sought an opportunity of bre
pact, which the army had made me
pulsion; and the two consuls who
into this treaty offered themselves u
my, as being the only persons th
called to account. But Pontius, w
served, that the lives of two men
equivalent for those of an army, r
ceive the forfeit, and sent them l
exclaiming at the perfidy of Rom
was now, therefore, renewed, and
being overthrown in several battles,
made them submit to the same i
they themselves had suffered befo
successes produced a truce, whic
pired, the war was carried on, a
many years; the power of the San
ing every day, while the Romans g
vigour from every victory. Under
of Papyrius Cursor, who was at di
consul and dictator, a succession
was gained. Fabius Maximus also
considerable share in the glory of
the Samnites, and has eternized his
rare union of valour, coolness, an
while Decius, the son of that De
voted himself for his country, abou
before, followed the illustrious ex
father, and, rushing into the midst
my, saved the lives of his country
loss of his own. Examples of this
of the purest disinterestedness, were
rare. On one occasion the Samn
dors having waited on the famous

olicit his interference in favour of their found him seated on a stool by his naking a repast on simple roots. His ty of condition tempted them to offer ribe; but the Roman viewing it with pt, exclaimed, "Carry back your gold, verty, no doubt, gave you hopes of cor- me; but I prefer the commanding of who possess riches to being rich myself." this spirit of independence that raised the n name, and extended its power: it was nbounded devotion to the interests of their try, that made the Samnites an unequal h for the arms of Rome. It may seem in- strange, how they could so long continue nake head against such a powerful foe; but must consider, that they were aided by all little states round them, who were either at- hed to them by interest, or united by a jea- sy of Rome's growing greatness. Thus the arentines, the Lucani, the Thurini, and all e southern states of Italy, by turns, sent assist- ce, which for a while checked the progress of e conquerors. But their stop was of short du- tion; both they, and the Samnites, after re- ated defeats, saw themselves, at last, stripped their cities, and the greatest part of their untry; they found themselves, at the end o e war, quite exhausted; near two hundre ousand of their bravest men killed in battl d the remainder utterly unable to make hea ainst the conquerors. In this distress, as t alian states were unable to defend themselv ey were obliged to call in the assistance of reign power, and have recourse to Pyrrhus

king of Epirus, to save them from impending ruin.

This prince, possessed of vast courage, ambition, and power, had always kept the example of Alexander, his great predecessor, before his eyes: he was reckoned the most experienced general of his time, and commanded a body of troops, then supposed to be the best disciplined in the world. The Romans, therefore, were no longer to combat with a tumultuary force, raised in times of exigence, and depending on their courage alone for victory: they were now to oppose an army levied amongst the most polished people then existing, formed under the greatest generals, and led on by a commander of confirmed merit. Pyrrhus was no sooner applied to for succour by the Tarentines, who, in the name of all the declining states of Italy, conjured him to save them from the threatening distress, than he readily promised to come to their assistance. In the mean time he dispatched over a body of three thousand men, under the command of Cineas, an experienced soldier, and a scholar of the great orator Demosthenes. Nor did he himself remain long before he put to sea with three thousand horse, twenty thousand foot, and twenty elephants, in which the commanders of that time began to place very great confidence. However, only a small part of this great armament arrived in Italy with him; for many of his ships were dispersed, and some were totally lost in a storm. A. C. 271.

Upon his arrival at Tarentum, his first care was to reform the people he came to succour: for

for observing a total dissolution of manners in this luxurious city, and that the inhabitants were rather occupied with the pleasures of bathing, feasting, and dancing, than the care of preparing for war, he gave orders to have all their places of public entertainment shut up, and that they should be restrained in all such amusements as rendered soldiers effeminate. He attempted to repress their licentious manner of treating their governors, and even summoned some, who had mentioned his own name with ridicule, to appear before him. Nevertheless, he was prevented from punishing them by their ingenuous manner of confessing the charge. "Yes," cried they, "we have spoken all this against you, and we "would have said still more, but that our wine "was out." But though he forgave them with a smile, he took the most prudent precautions to guard himself against their well-known insincerity; sending his son out of the city, and removing all those he suspected to be most forward to promote sedition.

Meanwhile, the Romans did all that prudence could suggest, to oppose so formidable an enemy; and the consul Lævinus was sent with a numerous army to interrupt his progress. Wherefore Pyrrhus, though his whole army was not yet arrived, prepared to meet him; but previously sent an ambassador, desiring to be permitted to mediate between the Romans and the people of Tarentum. To this, Lævinus returned for answer, that he neither valued him as a mediator, nor feared him as an enemy; and then leading the ambassador through the Roman camp, desired him to observe diligently what he saw, and report the result to his master.

W

the river Lylis. Pyrrhus
careful in directing the situation of his
camp, and in observing that of the enemy. I
was there, that walking along the banks of th
river, and surveying the Roman method of en
camping, "These barbarians*," cried he
turning to one of his favourites, "seem to me
"but little uncivilised; and, I fear, we shall
"too soon find their actions equal to their reso
"lution." In the mean time, ordering a body
of men along the banks of the river, he placed
them in readiness to oppose the Romans, in cas
they should attempt to ford it before his whol
army was collected. Things turned out accord
ing to his expectations; the consul, with an im
petuosity that marked his inexperience, gav
orders for passing the river where it was ford
able; and the Epirean advanced-guard havin
attempted to oppose him in vain, was obliged t
retire to the main body of the army. Pyrrhu
being apprised of the enemy's attempt, at fi
hoped to cut off their cavalry, before they co
be reinforced by the foot, which had not
passed over, and led on in person a chosen bo
of horse against them. It was on this occas
that he shewed himself equal to the great re
tation he had previously acquired: he was
stantly seen at the head of his men, leading t
on with spirit, yet directing them with c
ness: at once performing the office of a ge

* The Greeks considered all foreigners as barbarians
length of time the Romans copied the same precedent,
the term in the same sense.

a common soldier, he shewed
sence of mind, joined to the
He was chiefly conspicuous
of his air, and the richness of
iat wherever he appeared, there
attle raged. In the midst of
his horse happening to be killed,
to change armour with one of
nd remove to another part of
equired his immediate presence.
Roman knights, mistaking the
t for the king himself, directed
ts that way, and at last slew
his armour to the consul. The
ad through both armies, that
n, the Greeks were struck with
and the Romans began to as-
f victory. But Pyrrhus in the
bareheaded in the van, and re-
out, that he was alive and safe,
diers with new vigour. At
n legions having all crossed the
ment was become general: the
ith a consciousness of their for-
the Romans with a desire of
ry.—Mankind had never before
fferently disciplined armies op-
ier; nor is it to this day deter-
at that time, the Greek pha-
an legion were preferable. The
in suspense; the Romans had
ılsed the enemy, and were as
k themselves; but, at length,
ss seemed doubtful, Pyrrhus
ants into the midst of the en-
hese turned the scale of victory
in

in his favour.
fore seen animals of su
rified not only with their
but with the castles that were
backs, and filled with armed men.
sidered them, rather as prodigies sent to
than as animals trained up to subdue
while not only the men, but the horses,
in the general consternation; neither
the smell nor the cries of these formidable
tures, but throwing their riders, and
ranks with confusion.

It was then that Pyrrhus saw the day
own; and ordering his Thessalian
charge the enemy, who were then in
the rout became general. A dreadful
of the Romans ensued; fifteen thou
being killed on the spot, and eighteen
prisoners. Nor were the
than the vanquish
and thirt

immediately adopted it as their own.
Romans, though defeated, were still un-
ued; they again began to use all neces-
diligence to recruit their army, and to
se the conqueror, who, joined by the
hern states of Italy, was marching directly
rds Rome. However, he was still unwill-
to drive the republic to an extremity; and
ng they were making vast preparations, he
idered that it was the best period for treat-
with an enemy immediately after having
ed a victory over them: accordingly he re-
d to send his friend Cineas, the orator, to
ciate, and use all his eloquence to induce
to peace. He had long reposed great con-
ce in the abilities and persuasive powers of
scholar of Demosthenes; and often asserted,
he had won more towns by the eloquence of
as, than by his own arms. The artful
ian readily undertook the embassy, and en-
g Rome, began his negociation, by at-
pting to influence not only the senators, but
their wives, by presents, which he pretended
sent them by his master. This, however,
the age of Roman virtue; the senators re-
d to accept these bounties, which they con-
red as bribes to betray their country; and
women were not inferior to their husbands
noble disinterestedness. They unanimously
red him to restore to his master those al-
lureme

lurements to treason; adding, that they woul
then only accept his presents when the senat
had considered whether they should accept hi
friendship.

Never was there a time, in the history of an
nation, in which all the military and patrioti
virtues shone with greater lustre than now a
Rome. The senators having by a late law, a
has been related, reduced their fortunes mor
nearly to a level with those of the people, bega
to seek distinction from virtue only, and despise
those riches which could not be increased to suc
a degree as to place them at a distance from th
vulgar. Thus Cineas, after exhausting all h
artifice, and finding the Romans incapable
being seduced, either by bribery or private pe
suasion, changed his mode of attack, and pr
ceeded to request an introduction to an audien
of the senate. Being admitted, he began, b
extolling his master's courage and clemency
his desire of patronising the brave, and his pa
ticular esteem for the Romans. He proceede
to inculcate the blessings of peace, and the happ
opportunity the senate then had of restoring
He offered, in his master's name, to return a
that had been lately taken in battle, witho
ransom; to give assistance to the Romans
any future occasion; and all that he asked
return, was their alliance and friendship, tog
ther with permission to have the Tarentines
cluded in the treaty. These offers, and
more the orator's eloquence, appeared to a
the whole assembly; a general inclination see
to prevail in favour of the king's proposal,
a peace was confidently talked of in every
of the city. In this juncture, Appius Clau

, who was grown blind with age,
withdrawn from public business,
f to be carried into the house in
surprise of seeing this venerable
ıe senate again, and a sense of the
d displayed in surmounting nume-
ls before he could appear, awed
:mbly into silence and attention.
," cried he, raising himself from
:onsidered my blindness and my
s evils; I supposed that Heaven
lling to punish the latter part of
he faults I had committed when
had repaid a youth of folly with
ain. But now, conscript fathers,
have been peculiarly indulged in
:onsidered as calamities, since my
hinders me from seeing the dis-
ıy country. Nay, might I be in-
h, it should be for deafness also,
ıould no longer hear of what must
ıdignation in the breast of every
nan. How different are you now
ou were some years ago! Alex-
ı the world has called Great, was
nothing in Rome; we then uni-
bed his conquests not to his va-
his fortune. You then wished
of war might have brought him
ıly to shew the world your own
vess. But how are you fallen at
ı then wished to combat with the
Greece, and now you fear to en-
those states which he actually
You desired to cope with Alex-
et you refuse to meet one who

" new. We have, ...
" tive, either boldly to meet Pyrrhus in ...
" or be content to suffer all the contempt t
" neighbouring states of Italy shall throw up
" us; and thus, by endeavouring to avoid o
" war, engage ourselves in a hundred." Th
speech was received with universal approbatio
the assembly caught the ardour of patriotis
from this veteran though rude speaker, and t
smooth orations of Cineas lost the impressi
they had made. Being therefore unable to ma
any progress in his embassy, he was dismiss
with an answer, intimating, that Pyrrhus mu
withdraw his forces from Italy, before the sena
would treat with him on the subject of peace.

Cineas being thus frustrated in his expect
tions, returned to his master, extolling both t
virtues and the grandeur of the Romans. " T
" senate," said he, "appeared a reverend assem
" of demi-gods; and the city, a temple for t
" reception." Of this, Pyrrhus soon after
came sensible, by an embassy from Rome,
cerning the ransom and exchange of priso
At the head of this venerable deputation
Fabricius, an ancient senator, who had
been a pattern to his countrymen of the
abject poverty, joined to the most cheerfu
tent. This practical philosopher, who ha
formerly consul, and was now the amb
of Rome, had no other plate furniture
house, than a small cup, the bottom
which was of horn. His daughters being
fortunes, the senate generously portion
... treasury. When the

Ay offered him rich presents, he re-
n, saying, that he was already opu-
ie had learned the art of lessening his
y restraining his appetites.
is received this contented veteran with
attention; and willing to try how far
d been just in his favour, offered him
aluable presents; which, however, the
refused. The day after, he was desir-
oving his equanimity, and ordered one
phants to be placed behind the tapestry,
upon a signal given, raised its trunk
e ambassador's head, at the same time
her threatening motions. But Fabri-
th an unchanged countenance, smiled
king; observing, that he looked with
eye on the terrors of this day, as he
n the allurements of the preceding.—
pleased to find so much virtue in one
ie had considered as a barbarian, was
o grant him the only favour which he
uld make him happy. He released the
prisoners, entrusting them to Fabricius
pon his promise, that, in case the senate
ermined to continue the war, he might
them, whenever he thought proper.
Roman army having recovered from its
eat, Sulpicius and Decius, the consuls,
mediately placed at its head. The panic
ad formerly seized the soldiers from the
the elephants now began to wear off;
generals, with great assiduity, applied
/es to imitate the discipline of Pyrrhus,
Grecian method of encampment. It
pting the warlike improvements of other
that they ultimately learned the art of

ıng invincible. Both armies met nea
.sculum, and both were nearly equ
ers, being about forty thousand str
ıus found himself incommoded by a w
ıry, that prevented his phalanx and
ıts from acting with the same effect a
plain; he thefore continued for some
ıer upon the defensive, until night sh
e him an opportunity to make a more
ıtageous disposition. The next mornin
ısed a detachment of his cavalry to po
emselves of the upper grounds, and thus f
.e enemy into the plain; which, when they
ıccessfully effected, he brought down his
hants into the hottest part of the fight,
nixing his slingers and archers among th
formed a body that appeared almost irresisti
and from local circumstances the battle bec
close and general. The Roman legions at
were unable to pierce the Greek phalanx;
becoming careless of their own lives, a desp
slaughter ensued on both sides. After a
and obstinate fight, however, the Grecia
cipline prevailed; and the Romans, being p
on every side, particularly by the elephant
obliged to retire to their camp, leaving si
sand men dead upon the field of battle
enemy likewise lost four thousand of th
men, and therefore had little reason
of the event of the battle. Indeed, Py
plied to one of his soldiers, who was c
lating him upon his victory, "One suc
"more, and I shall be undone." No
assertion made without reason; as, by
the greatest part of those forces, whi
lowed him from home, were destroy

[redacted]ricius, who was made consul
[redacted]on the Romans, by no means
[redacted]eir former defeats. While the
[redacted]re approaching, and only at a
from each other, a letter was
bricius from the king's physician,
it for a proper reward he would
r off by poison, and thus rid the
powerful enemy and a dangerous
us felt, at this base proposal, all the
nation that was consistent with his
ness of mind, and sense of moral
e communicated it to his colleague,
y gave his opinion, that Pyrrhus
formed of the treachery that was
gainst him. Accordingly letters were
or that purpose, informing Pyrrhus
r, and lamenting his unfortunate
riends and enemies: that he had
[redacted]d murderers, while he di-
[redacted]merous and

" of honour." Then making the prop
amongst his servants, and having disc
treason, he ordered his physician to be
However, not to be outdone in magna
immediately sent to Rome all his priso
out ransom, and again desired to n
peace. The Romans, on the other han
to enter into a negociation, but upon
conditions they had offered before, an
as many of the Samnites and Tare
equalled the number of the prisoners
received. The Roman obstinacy
Pyrrhus; he appeared divided betwe
and necessity, his circumstances oblige
some measure, to discontinue the war,
honour was hurt in being compelled t
unfinished. An invitation from the
begging relief against the Cathagini
possessed their island, and treated ther
relieved him from this cruel embar
This expedition promised more reward
labour; and such were the chief obje
military adventurer's attention. He
placed a garrison in Tarentum, muc
the inclination of the inhabitants; and t
ing his friend Cineas before him, follo
all the rest of his forces to the relief of

The Samnites and Tarentines being
to the mercy of the Romans, did
though in vain, to solicit him, with
earnest supplications, to return to the
tion. Pyrrhus, whom his successes in
for some time made deaf to their entrea
however, after a lapse of two years, in
had acquired victories rather splendid
ful, glad to have a specious pretext to

ıd, as he had formerly left Italy. He, there-
, with some difficulty, once more returned to
entum, at the head of twenty thousand foot
three thousand horse. The Romans, though
sed by so formidable a power as that of Pyr-
s, had not yet forgotten the ancient animosity
veen the orders of the state; and upon a
being set forward to form an army to op-
him, many of the people refused to inlist.
ırder to repress a sedition which menaced the
destruction of the empire, the consuls re-
ed to act with spirit, and accordingly com-
ıded that the names of the citizens should be
wn by lot; and that he who first refused to
the field, should be sold as a slave. This
ly severity had its effect, and ever afterwards
ıy man refused to inlist when called upon, he
instantly treated by the consuls in a similar
ıner. Having thus raised a sufficient body
orces, the consuls divided their army into two
s, and marched into the enemy's country;
into Lucania, and the other among the
ınites.

'yrrhus, having increased his army by new
es, and being informed of this arrangement,
ded his forces also, and sent one part to op-
e the march of Lentulus, while he himself
ıt to attack Curius Dentatus, before his col-
gue could come up. His principal aim was
urprise the enemy by night; but his march
g through woods, and his lights failing him,
men lost their way; so that at the approach
norning, they saw themselves in sight of the
nan camp, with the enemy drawn out ready
eceive them. The vanguard of both armies
ı met, in which the Romans had the ad-
vanta

vantage. Soon after a general engagement ensued, when Pyrrhus finding the balance of the victory turning still against him, had once more recourse to his elephants. With these, however, the Romans were then too well acquainted to feel any vain terrors from their appearance; and having found that fire was the most effectual means to repel them, they caused a number of balls to be made, composed of flax and resin, which, being kindled, were thrown amongst them as they approached the ranks. The elephants, thus rendered furious by the flame, and as boldly opposed by the soldiers, could no longer be brought to act; but fell back upon their own army, bearing down the ranks, and filling all places with terror and confusion. Thus, after a long struggle, victory declared in favour of Rome. Pyrrhus, in vain, attempted to stop the flight and the slaughter of his troops; he lost not only twenty-three thousand of his best soldiers, but his camp was also taken. The occupation of this furnished a new lesson to the Romans, who were ever open to improvement: they had formerly pitched their tents without order; but by the example before them, they were taught to measure out their ground, and fortify the whole with a trench; so that many of their succeeding victories are to be ascribed to their improved method of castrametation.

Notwithstanding such a signal and unexpected defeat, Pyrrhus bore his loss with unbroken courage: his first care was to secure a retreat, and then to keep up the spirits of his allies, with promises of better success for the future. This he did till he had tried the utmost of what his interest could effect to furnish out another

ther campaign. However, finding all hopes
hat fruitless, he resolved to leave Italy, where
ound only resolute enemies and faithless al-
. Accordingly, calling together the Taren-
s, he informed them, that he had received
rances from Greece, of speedy assistance,
desiring them to wait the event with
quillity; the night following embark- A. C. 265.
his troops, he bade an eternal adieu
taly, leaving a garrison at Tarentum U. C. 483.
ely to save appearances, and to keep
allies from despair*.

n this manner ended the war with Pyrrhus,
r six years' continuance; through the whole
which, we find the Romans acting a nobler
than in any former period, endeavouring to
the politeness of Greece to the virtuous au-
ity of their native manners. A spirit of fru-
ty, contempt of wealth, and virtuous emu-
n, had spread itself over the whole senate.
ricius not only brought poverty into fashion
is example, but punished all approaches to
ry, by his authory as a magistrate. So
tly were the sumptuary laws enforced by this
t man, when censor, that Ruffinus, who had
twice a consul and once dictator, was ex-
ed from the senate, and had a mark of in-
y put upon his name, for no other offence,
being possessed of ten pounds of silver plate
he use of his table. By this love of
nce, and these successes in war, tho-

*War seems to have been the trade of Pyrrh
any heroic achievements, he was killed
threw a tile on his head from the top of
ttempting to take Argos.

individuals were poor, the public was rich; t
number of citizens also was increased to abo
two hundred thousand men, capable of bearir
arms; and the fame of the Romans was so f
extended, that Ptolemy Philadelphus, king
Egypt, sent ambsssadors to congratulate th
success, and to solicit their alliance.

As for the effeminate Tarentines, who we
the original promoters of this war, they soon b
gan to experience a worse enemy in the garris
that was left for their defence, than in the R
mans, who attacked them from without. T
enmity between them and Milo, who co
manded their citadel for Pyrrhus, was becon
so great, that nothing but the fear of their i
veterate foes at Rome, could equal it. In t
distress they applied to the Carthaginians, w
with a large fleet blocked up the port of T
rentum; so that this unfortunate people, on
famous through Italy, for the elegance of th
taste, and the refinement of their pleasures, n
saw themselves contended for by three differ
armies, without the choice of a conqueror.
length, however, the Romans found means
bring over the garrison to their interest; a
which they easily became masters of the c
and demolished its walls, granting the inhabita
liberty and protection under their own powe
auspices.

CHA

CHAP. VII.

om the Commencement to the End of the first Punic War, when the Romans began to acquire a maritime Force.

OON after the fall of Tarentum, Rome became mistress of all the countries in Italy, om the remotest part of Etruria to the Ionian , and from the Tyrrhenian to the Adriatic. it it should be observed, that though all the ferent states in that track lost their indendence, they did not all enjoy the same prieges; some were entirely subjected to the oman laws; others were allowed to live under e original institutions; and some were tributry, and others allies. Some again enjoyed all e privileges of denizens of Rome; and others ere admitted to a right of suffrage in the elecons of the Campus Martius. Those different egrees of honour, privileges, and liberty, were unded on the different terms granted to the nquered, upon their surrender; and were afrwards modified or increased, according to eir fidelity, and the services they rendered the public of Rome, to which they had promised llegiance.

Not satisfied, however, with subjugating the rrounding nations, the victory over Pyrrhus ot only gave the Romans reputation abroad, ut kindled an ambition for foreign conquests. hey began also to know, though not yet to ractise, the refinements of the Greeks and Tarentines,

their growing numbers wi... ...
were obliged to be imported from foreign ...
tions. Of these, Sicily sent by far the great
proportion; so that the people began secretly
wish for the possession of a country, which h
for some time served as the granary of Rome.

To minds predisposed for conquests, a
A. C. backed by power, a pretext to commen
255. war is seldom wanting. The Carthaginia
U. C. were at that time in possession of t
493. greatest part of Sicily, and, like the R
mans, only wanted an opportunity
embroiling the natives, in order to become n
sters of the whole island. This opportunity n
offered. Hiero, king of Syracuse, one of
states of the island as yet unconquered, entre
their aid against the Mamertines, a small i
pendent district of the same country; and
promptly sent him supplies both by land
sea. The Mamertines, on the other han
ward off impending ruin, put themselves
the protection of Rome. The Roman
... dignify the Mamertines with the
... professing to assist

ways thus when two states become
ch other's power, and neither will
unfair pretensions. War is always
nd never a natural ill.
was built by a colony of Phœni-
the place were Tunis now stands,
ndred and thirty-seven years before
tion of Rome. By gradual advances,
ended its dominions all along the north-
of Africa, and was in possession also
of the principal islands in the Medi-
n sea. But its chief strength lay in its
nd commerce; by these its riches were
immense; and by means of money alone,
zens were capable of hiring and sending
rmies to conquer or to curb. However,
ssession of affluence produced its natural
quences: for as at Rome, public employ-
s were made the reward of virtue, and su-
or honour only raised to pre-eminence in
; so in Carthage, the several offices which
state had to bestow were venal; and those
o purchased them, only aimed at being re-
bursed by all the sordid arts of peculation
hus unequally matched, these two great power
egan what was called the first Punic war. Th
Carthaginians, possessed of abundance of go
and silver, which, however, was capable of bei
exhausted; the Romans of perseverance,
triotism, and a contempt of wealth, which
thered strength from the occasions that g
them birth.

Hitherto shut up in their own dominions
Romans had but little knowledge of the m
of transporting an army by sea. Appius
dius was the first who, by means of a

fleet, or, as some will have it, a raft of
wafted over a small body of forces into
where victory, as usual, was still attend
the Roman eagles. A league made with
king of Syracuse, soon after the consul's
began to inspire the invaders with hop
pelling the Carthaginians from the isla
becoming masters of it in their turn.
an unsurmountable obstacle was opposed
ambitious views: they had no fleet, or
scarcely any thing which deserved th
while the Carthaginians, being masters
powerful one, had the entire command
and awed all the maritime towns into ob
To obviate this difficulty, sufficient in
intimidate less resolute minds, the Roma
to apply themselves to maritime affai
though without shipwrights to build, or
to navigate a fleet, they pursued thei
with inflexible perseverance. A Carth
vessel happening to be driven ashore in
the model was sufficient to give the
hopes of building vessels, that might
control the long-established naval p
their rival. Accordingly, they dilige
about imitating this ship, and on the sa
built a hundred and twenty vessels, wit
ing expedition. But now, although t
obtained something like a fleet, they still
sailors to navigate it. The Romans be
up to husbandry or war, were perfect
rant of maritime affairs; and the neigh
states, whom they had lately conquere
either unwilling to embark, or not to
on. In this exigence, they first taught t
to row upon land, instructing them in t

ıer of engaging, as well as circumstances
d permit, and leaving it to their native
ır to do the rest.

ith this newly-constructed armament, the
ıl Duillius ventured to sea; but he soon
d that the enemy was every way superior in
: of sailing, and bringing their vessels into
n. However, the indefatigable spirit of the
ıans was not to be subdued; he found out a
dy even here, for the improvement of his
ations, by inventing an instrument, which,
an impulse of two ships, kept them both
pled together; so that neither could sepa-
until the victory was decided. By this
ıod, a naval engagement became more like
at land, which gave the Romans the ad-
age; for when the two rival fleets met,
Carthaginians lost fifty of their ships, to-
r with the undisturbed sovereignty of the
which they valued more. These successes
so unexpected by the senate, that Duillius
admiral was honoured with a signal
nph; and to perpetuate the memory of his
ry, a band of music was appointed to at-
him at supper *.

the mean time, a conflict was carried on
ınd in Sicily with various success; the Ro-
s, and their enemies, alternately gaining the
ntage. But the conduct of both nations
ıg the continuance of this war was mani-
r different. The Carthaginians appeared
ys murmuring against their generals and

* While Duillius received such marks of regard from his
ıl country, Annibal, the Carthaginian admiral, had some
lty in escaping with life, for suffering himself to be de-

rious. Then
part of the war in Sicily,
duct and courage of the consul Re
subdued the islands Lipara and Mel
Malta. The city of Agrigentum in Si
of Alberia in Corsica, were now also at
the dominions of Rome.

But these trifling successes were by
sufficient to gratify the sanguine expec
the people; for though the Carthagin
suffered occasional defeats, yet they
tinued the most powerful, and sent in
to the island at pleasure. The conqu
fore of Sicily was only to be obtained
bling the power of Carthage at home
this view the senate resolved to carry
into Africa; and accordingly they sent
and Manlius, with a fleet of three hun
to make the invasion. Regulus was
the most consummate warriour that R
then produce; he was a professed
frugal severity, but less austere to
to himself; he only reprehended
which he would have died rather tha
mitted: but his patriotism was gre
temperance; and all the private p
ed extinguished in him, or they wer
ed up in one great ruling affectio
his country. As if he had a pres
ever, of his misfortunes, it was
ficulty he accepted this last co
wrote to the senate in the

n excuse: "A day-labourer, taking
of the death of the farmer who
ld, amounting to six acres, has rob-
my implements of husbandry, and
presence is therefore necessary for
tion of it, without which I cannot
intain my wife and children." The
diately obviated this difficulty, by
arge of his domestic concerns on
nd ordered Regulus to continue
l. Accordingly, the two generals
their fleet, which was the greatest
r yet left an Italian port, carrying
nd forty-thousand men. They
y the Carthaginians, with a fleet
and men better used to naval af-
e the fight continued rather be-
ps than the men, the Carthaginians
ve the superiority: but when the
e to grapple with them, the differ-
a mercenary army, and one that
me, was apparent. The resolution
ns was crowned with success; the
was dispersed, and fifty-four of
taken. The consequence of this
n immediate descent upon A. C. 245.
Africa, and the capture of
pea; together with twenty U. C. 503.
n who were made prisoners

being informed of these great suc-
plied to for new instructions, com-
lius back to Italy, in order to super-
cilian war; and directed that Re-
continue in Africa, to prosecute
here; but as his consulship was ex-
continued him their general, unde

the title of Pro-consul. [illegible]
tion of his country, Regulus continued ...
cesses, and led his forces along the banks of
river Bagrada. There, while he was waiti
for the approach of the Carthaginians, a serp
of enormous size attacked his men as they w
for water, and took a position as if it intend
to guard the banks of the river. It was
hundred and twenty feet long, with scales i
penetrable to any weapon. Some of the bold
troops at first went up to oppose its fury, b
they soon fell victims to their rashness, bei
either killed by its devouring jaws, or crushed
pieces by the volumes of its tail. The pois
ous vapour that issued from it is represented
still more formidable; and the men were
much terrified at its appearance, that they as
ed, they would much more joyfully have f
the whole Carthaginian army. For some
it seemed uncertain which should remain m
of the river. At last, Regulus was obli
make use of the machines employed in
ing down the walls of cities; and, n
standing this, the serpent for a long tim
stood all his efforts, and destroyed nu
his men; but at length, a very larg
[illegible] from an engine, hav

Meanwhile, the Carthaginians finding that the omans were making rapid advances to their ery capital, brought out a considerable army o oppose them. A battle ensued, in which Car- hage was once more defeated, and some of its est troops were cut off. This filled them with onsternation and dismay; and more than eighty f their towns immediately submitted to the Ro- nans. The Numidians, the ancient allies of he Carthaginians, rose against them at the same ime, and combined to ravage the country. The easants, who fled on every side, flocked into Carthage, as to the only place of refuge left, nd introduced misery and famine. In this scene f complicated distress, the Carthaginians, de- itute of generals at home who had abilities to ppose the conqueror, were obliged to send to acedæmon, offering the command of their rmies to Xantippus, a general of great expe- ence, who undertook to conduct them. At he same time, they dispatched some of the rincipal men of the state to Regulus to beg a eace. The Roman general had long wished to rminate the war, and return to his native land. Amidst his most splendid successes, he still eems to have anticipated the most melancholy everses. When the Carthaginians, therefore, ent proposals of peace, he was very much in- lined to come to an accommodation; but in ome measure considering himself as master of Carthage, he thought it was his duty to dictate he terms. These were, that the Carthaginians hould give up the cities they were possessed of in icily and Sardinia; that they should deliver up ll their prisoners without reward, and at the ame time ransom such as had been made by he Romans. These and some similar conditions were

were offered; but the Carthaginians thi
them too rigid, the treaty was broken off
both sides resolutely prepared for war.

By this time, Xantippus, the Lacedæm
general, was arrived, and immediately set
levying and disciplining men for the ar
was destined to command: he assured th
gistrates, that their forces were hitherto
thrown, not by the strength of the enem
the ignorance of their own generals; he
fore only required a ready obedience to his c
and assured them of an easy victory. The
city seemed once more revived from d
dence, by the encouragements of this illus
stranger; and soon, from hope, grew int
fidence. This was the spirit the Grecian g
wished to inspire; and when he saw then
ripe for the engagement, he joyfully toc
field. The forces on both sides were bu
in number; the Carthaginian army con
only of twelve thousand foot, and four thc
horse; those of the Romans of about the
or rather more, but all of them veterans.

The first circumstance which alarmed
lus, was to find the enemy alter the plan o
encampment, and make a new choice
ground. They had hitherto preferred th
woody and rugged places, where their c
were embarrassed, and their elephants
unserviceable; thus shewing a disposit
secure themselves from attack rather than
the offensive. They now continually kept
open country; and so harassed the
army, that at length Regulus was obliged
scend into the plain, and cross the river
them battle. The Lacedæmonian ma
most skilful disposition of his forces; he

valry in the wings; disposed the elephants
oper intervals, behind the line of heavy-
d infantry; and, bringing up the light-
d troops before, ordered them to retire
gh the line of infantry, after they had dis-
ged their weapons. This was a most masterly
sition, and proved useful to the Romans in
eding engagements, though it was fatal to
in the present. For now both armies en-
g, after a long and obstinate resistance the
ans were overthrown with dreadful slaugh-
the greatest part of their army being de-
ed, and Regulus himself taken prisoner.
victory so great and unexpected filled the
itants of Carthage with ungovernable joy;
could never sufficiently satisfy themselves
gazing on the conqueror, though he was
nall in stature, and of a very mean appear-

But this favourable disposition was but
ort continuance, for soon their admiration
urned to envy. They could not bear to
o a stranger that safety, which they wanted
ies and virtue to procure for themselves.
ippus, who knew their malignity, and who
was much elated with their fickle praise,
lesirous of lessening their malevolence, by
ving the cause: he therefore requested per-
n to resign his command, and desired a
o convey him to his own country. Their
titude on this occasion, if historians say
was even more disgraceful than their
r jealousy and rancour; for, pretend
rnish him with the most honourable
ce, the mariners had private ord
him and his companions overboar
onour of obtaining so great a
d be ascribed to a stranger. Thus, th

Punic faith has been used to signify dece
Punic reward express the basest ingrat

But, whatever was the fate of Xan
affairs of the Carthaginians, for some
on to improve, while those of Rome
be declining. The remains of the Ro
were besieged in Clypea, a city on t
Africa, which Regulus had taken; a
it was for a while relieved by means
victory, under the conduct of Æmili
yet they were ultimately obliged to ev
place. Soon after the Romans lost t
fleet in a storm; and Agrigentum,
cipal town in Sicily, was taken by Ka
Carthaginian general. The Roma
characteristic perseverance, undertoo
a new fleet, which also shared the
former: the mariners, not yet acqu
the Mediterranean shores, drove it u
sands; and, soon after, the greatest
ed in a storm. Thus frustrated in
attempt, for a while they gave up a
rivalling the Carthaginians at sea, a
their attention to the conquest of Sic
they in a great measure effected.

Fourteen years of disastrous war
the Carthaginian resources, and
shewed an inclination for peace, hop
better terms than those insisted u
They therefore resolved to send to R
gociate this business, or at least to
exchange of prisoners. For this pu
supposed that Regulus, whom the
for four years kept in a dungeon,
with extreme severity, would be a
citor. It was hoped, that, being
imprisonment and bondage, he wo

ır to persuade his countrymen to a dis-
nce of the war, which only prolonged
ivity. He was accordingly sent with
bassadors to Rome, but with a promise,
ly exacted from him, to return in case
unsuccessful. To this he consented,
ɔut on his embassy with a determination
ct.

arrived at the gates of Rome, Regulus
to enter them. "I am," said he, "no
a Roman citizen, but a Carthaginian
the senate always gives audience to
ers without the gates." His wife Marcia
meet him, and presented to him his
ldren; but this wretched parent fixed his
the ground, and rejected their caresses.
nate being assembled, and Regulus ad-
into their presence with the Carthaginian
ıdors, thus addressed them: "Conscript
rs, a slave of the Carthaginians, I come
my masters to obtain a peace, or at
an exchange of prisoners." He would
tired during the debate: the senate press-
to remain, but he refused till ordered to
y the ambassadors.

ıst the elders of the senate gave their
, he kept his eyes stedfastly down, till it
s turn to speak, when he thus began:
ıve at Carthage; at Rome I am free, and
r I shall speak." He then proceeded to
t not the interest of the republic to make
"The forces of Carthage," said he,
xhausted. You have been but once con-
ɛd, and that once through my fault,
h fault Metellus has nobly repaired:
ıt the Carthaginians have so often been
n that they scarcely dare meet a Roman.
"Their

" Their finances are so exhausted, they can no
" longer pay those mercenaries who are their
" chief strength. It is therefore my advice to
" pursue the war more vigorously than ever.
" As for the exchange of prisoners, amongst the
" officers in your hands, many who are still in
" the prime of life, may yet be of service to
" their country. In the few years I have to
" expect of life, and those few useless, what
" can you hope for from a man who allowed
" himself to be conquered, and laden with
" irons."

We are not told if it was debated in the se-
nate, whether some of the interests of the re-
public ought not to be ceded to save the gene-
rous captive. Some senators, however, were
eager to prove, that he was under no obligation
to return to Carthage, and fulfil an engage-
ment exacted by force. The pontifex Maximus
himself declared it as his opinion, that he might
remain at Rome without incurring the guilt
perjury. But to a decision which he thou
injurious to his honour and his courage, he
dignantly replied, "Though I am well acqua
" ed with the tortures which await me at
" thage, I prefer them to an act, which w
" cover me with infamy in my tomb. It i
" duty to return, and for all else, let the
" provide." The pressing intreaties of the
and people were unavailing, and fearing
should be affected, he would neither see h
nor children, and quitted his country w
eyes and an unmoved countenance, wh
surrounding beholders were melted into
Yet after all, what ought we to think
people and their senate, who, with one
a sacrifice of some one advantage, mi

d so magnanimous a citizen from torture from death, and yet remained inflexible? l what also can we think of the republic of hage, who suffered and ordained the most ectable and honourable of men to expire in most dreadful agonies. After having plung- him into the obscurest dungeon, he was n out to be exposed to the burning rays of African sun, his eye-lids being first cut off; was then enclosed in a box pierced with spikes, in which he expired. On the other d, the senate of Rome delivered their prin- l prisoners to his wife, Marcia, who, by her ers, suffered a slow death, in tortures like e inflicted on her husband:—acts of revenge retaliation alike detestable, for which those rule in every government where they take e ought to be made responsible, or posted to infamy by posterity!

oth sides now took up arms with more than ner animosity. The Romans, who were in- ible in their purposes, although they had so ny times been wrecked at sea, and had lost h numbers of their bravest troops on that nent, once more fitted out a fleet, and again defiance to Carthage. It seemed, however, f fortune was resolved to baffle their mari- e attempts; for, by the bad conduct Claudius Pulcher, the consul, and a A. C. 237. cession of disasters, their fleet was de- yed like all the former, and the Romans ned drained of every resource to equip a new In consequence of this misfortune, they e obliged to abstain for seven years from all l preparations. But their spirit was not to roken; they determined to build another

fleet, and to try their wayward fortune on more on the unstable element. At length th perseverance was crowned with success, and o victory followed on the back of another. Fabi Buteo, the consul, shewed them the way, by d feating a large squadron of the enemy's ship but Luctatius Catulus gained a victory still mo complete, in which the power of Carthage w almost annihilated at sea, by the loss of a hu dred and twenty ships, according to the low computation. This loss so humbled the C thaginians that they sued for peace, which Ro thought proper to grant; but still inflexible its demands, exacted the same conditions wh Regulus had formerly offered at the gates Carthage. It was finally stipulated, that th should lay down a thousand talents of silver, defray the charges of the war; and should p two thousand two hundred more in ten ye time; that they should quit Sicily, with all neighbouring islands; that they should ne make war against the allies of Rome, nor co with any vessels of war within the Roman minions; and lastly, that all the prisoners deserters should be delivered up without ransc To these severe conditions the Carthagini were obliged to submit after a contest of twen four years; which, in some measure, had dr ed both nations of every resource to renew h tilities, even had the inclination remained.

CHAP. VIII.

From the End of the first Punic War to the Termination of the Second.

THE war which was just concluded, had been conducted on the part of the Carthaginians in a great measure by Hamilcar, who displayed singular courage, prudence, and abilities, and only sunk at last in the common misfortunes of his country. Such was his enmity to Rome, that he did not even suffer it to die with him, but entailed it as an inheritance in his son, the illustrious Annibal. The Romans too, though completely victorious, entertained no less antipathy against the rival state which still existed in such strength as to justify a considerable share of jealousy and circumspection. However, it was necessary they should respire after so long a conflict; and in six years after the peace with the Carthaginians, the temple of Janus was shut, for the second time since the foundation of the city. The Romans being thus in friendship with all nations, had an opportunity of cultivating the arts of peace: they now began to cherish a taste for poetry, the first liberal art which rises in every civilised nation, and the first also that decays in an advanced state of society. Hitherto they had been entertained only with the rude drolleries of buffoons; and in the sports called Fescennini, a few debauched actors invented

A. C. 229. U. C. 519.

their own parts, while raillery and smut
plied the place of humour. To these a c
position of a higher kind succeeded, d
minated satire. This was a kind of dram
poem, in which the follies of the great
made an object of derision to the vulgar. A
these came tragedy and comedy, both borro
from the Greeks; and, indeed, the first
matic poet of Rome, whose name was Li
Andronicus, was born in Greece. The ins
the higher species of composition appeared,
great people rejected their former impuri
with disdain. From this period they labou
upon the Grecian model: and, though t
were never able to rival their masters in dra
tic composition, they soon surpassed them
many of the more soothing kinds of verse. I
giac, pastoral, and didactic poetry, began to
sume new beauties in the Roman language;
satire, not that rude kind of dialogue alre
mentioned, but a nobler sort, invented by L
lius, was all their own.

But while they were thus cultivating the
of peace, they were not negligent in mak
fresh preparations for war. The Illyrians w
the first people upon whom they tried th
strength, after an interval of eight years' pea
That nation, which had long plundered the m
chants of the Mediterranean with impuni
were impelled by their evil genius to make
predations upon some of the trading subjects
Rome. This being complained of to Teu
the queen of the country, instead of granti
redress, she ordered the ambassador who
sent to demand restitution, to be murdered.
war ensued, in which the Romans were ju
victorio

rious; most of the Illyric towns were sur-
red to the consuls, and a peace at last con-
d, by which the greatest part of the coun-
as ceded to Rome; a yearly tribute was ex-
for the rest, and a prohibition added, that
llyrians should not sail beyond the river
s with more than two barks, and those not
pped for war.

he Gauls were the next people that felt the
rs of Rome. Supposing a time of peace,
the armies were disbanded, a proper season
new irruptions, this barbarous people col-
d fresh forces from beyond the Alps, and
ring Etruria, wasted all with fire and sword,
hey came within about three days' journey
Rome. A prætor and a consul were sent to
ose them, and being now instructed in the
roving arts of war, they surrounded the
ls, who still retained their primæval modes
ighting. In vain those hardy troops, who
nothing but their courage to protect them,
ned two fronts to oppose their adversaries;
r unprotected bodies and undisciplined forces
e unable to withstand the shock of an ene-
completely armed, and skilled in military
utions. A dreadful carnage ensued, when
y thousand men were killed, and ten thousand
n prisoners. This victory was followed by
ther gained over them by Marcellus, in which
tilled Viridomarus, their king, with his own
d, and gained the third royal spoils which
yet been obtained by a Roman. These con-
sts forced the Gauls to beg a peace, the con-
ons of which served greatly to enlarge the
nds of the empire; though certainly not
ngthen its barriers on that side.

a city in Spain, which had been in
with Rome; and, though warned to des
secuted their operations with vigour.
sadors were sent, in consequence, from
to Carthage, complaining of the infra
their articles, and requiring that Anni
Carthaginian general, who had advis
measure, should be delivered up. This
being refused, the ambassadors began
ceive their inclinations for a rupture; an
them holding out the skirt of his robe,
the custom, told the Carthaginian minist
he brought them peace or war, on whi
might decide according to their incl
They desired him, with the most perfe
ference, to determine for them; to whicl
plied, "Then let it be war;" and thus
the assembly, returned to Rome.

A. C. 205. War being thus again decla
tween these great rival powers, t
thaginians trusted the command

those terms he swore, and he was faithful
engagement. On his first appearance in
eld, he united in his own person the most
rly method of commanding, with the
perfect obedience to his superiors. Thus
is equally beloved by his generals and by
oops he was appointed to lead. He was
ssed of the greatest courage in opposing
er, and the greatest presence of mind in
ting it. No fatigue was able to subdue his
, nor any misfortune to break his spirit:
ly patient of heat and cold, he only took
nance to content nature, and not to gratify
petite. His seasons for repose or labour
never regular or fixed: he was always
when difficulties or his country demanded
d. He was frequently found stretched on
round among his sentinels, covered only
a watch coat. His dress differed in nothing
the most ordinary men of his army, ex-
that he affected peculiar elegance in his
s and armour. He was the best horseman
he swiftest runner of his time. He was
the foremost to engage, and the last to re-
; he was prudent in his designs, which
extensive; and ever fertile in expedients to
ex his enemies, or to rescue himself from
er. He was experienced, sagacious, pro-
t, and bold. Such were the valuable qua-
of this illustrious soldier, who is univer-
allowed to be the greatest general of an-
y. On the other hand, he was cruel and
ess; without honour, without religion;
et possessed the art of simulation to such a
e, that he assumed the appearance of them
From such a soldier and politician, the
aginians justly formed the greatest ex-

pectations; and his taking Saguntum s
after, confirmed their original opinion
abilities. But he soon gave proofs of a
more extensive genius than they had ever
him credit for. Having over-run all Spai
levied a large army of various languag
nations, he resolved to carry the war into
as the Romans had before carried it into
minions of Carthage. For this purpose,
Hanno with a sufficient force to guard h
quests in Spain, he crossed the Pyrenean
tains in Gaul, with an army of fifty th
foot and nine thousand horse. He quick
versed that country, though filled with
that were his declared enemies. In v
forests and rivers interposed difficulties
way; in vain the Rhone, with its rapid c
and its banks covered with enemies,
Dura, branched out into numberless ch
opposed his march; he passed them all w
daunted spirit, and in ten days arrived
foot of the Alps, over which he determ
explore a new passage into Italy. It wa
midst of winter, when this astonishing
was formed. The season added new ho
a scene, which nature had already crowd
objects of dismay. The prodigious hei
tremendous steepness of the mountains,
with snow; the rude cottages that see
hang upon the sides of the precipices; th
and even the wild beasts, stiff with cold,
raged with famine; the people barbarc
fierce, dressed in skins, with long shagg
presented a picture that would have im
ordinary spectators with astonishment
ror. But nothing was capable of subdu

of the Carthaginian general; after harangued his army, he undertook to em up the sides of the mountain, ani- his soldiers by the assurance that they w scaling, not the walls of Italy, but of

Carthaginians, however, in this march, mberless and unforeseen calamities to er: the intenseness of the cold, the height recipices, the smoothness of the ice, but ll, the opposition of the inhabitants, who them from above, and rolled down huge pon them in their march, all contributed rit the army, and to impede their pro- At length, after nine days' painful and ted ascent, Hannibal gained the top of untains, where he rejoiced his soldiers, ing them the charming and fertile vales y, which were stretched out beneath. e allowed a two-days' respite, and then d to descend;—a work of more danger an the former. Prodigious quantities of aving lately fallen, as many were swal- ip in it, as had before been destroyed by my. Every new advance seemed but to e the danger, till, at last, he came to the f a precipice above three hundred yards licular, which seemed utterly impassa- t was then that despair appeared in every t Hannibal's; for he still remained un-

His first object was to endeavour, by tous course, to find a more commodious . This only increasing his difficulty, he l to undertake levelling the rock. To te this, great numbers of large trees lled; and a huge pile raised against it,

and

nd set on fire. The rock being thus heated, ays Livy, was softened by vinegar*, and a vay opened, through which the whole army might safely pass. After this no obstacles of any comparative moment occurred; for as he descended, the valleys between the mountains became more fertile; so that the cattle found pasture, and the soldiers had time to repose. Thus, at the end of fifteen days spent in crossing the Alps, the Carthaginian found himself in the plains of Italy, with about half his army remaining; the rest having died of the cold, or were cut off by the natives.

No sooner was it known at Rome, that Annibal, at the head of a formidable army, was crossing the Alps, in order to invade their dominions, than the senate sent Scipio to oppose him, as a general on whom they placed the greatest dependence. Scipio, being desirous making his principal effort before Annibal's arr was recovered from the fatigues of their mar brought up his forces and attacked him n Ticinium. The engagement was for some t doubtful; but a party of Numidian horse wh ing round, attacked the Romans in the r and at last obliged them to retreat with con able loss. The consul was wounded in th ginning of the fight, and would have falle the hands of the enemy, had not his son S afterwards surnamed Africanus, exposed

* The moderns in general treat this application a as a fable; and when we reflect on the difficulty of sufficient quantity of this article for his purpose, it give a degree of scepticism to the most credulous rea bal, however, with incredible labour made his wa Alps; and that is enough.

he hottest part of the engagement, and
s father's life, at the hazard of his own.
l, being thus victorious in the first on-
k the most prudent precautions to in-
his army; giving orders to Mago, his
of cavalry, when he ravaged the coun-
ays to spare the possessions of the Gauls,
s depredations were exercised solely upon
f Rome. This partial distinction charmed
nple people; they declared for him in
umbers, and flocked to his standard with
.

pronius, the other consul, resolving to
the injury sustained by his colleague;
rceiving that the continual defection of
uls increased the strength of the Punic
determined to give battle the first oppor-

Annibal was inspired with equal reso-
to come to a decisive engagement; and
rmies soon met upon the banks of the
rebia. The Carthaginian general being
nger to the Roman impetuosity, of which
quently availed himself, had sent off a
f a thousand horse, each with a foot sol-
hind him, across the river, to ravage the
's country, and provoke them to engage.
omans quickly attacked this party, which
nally giving way without a conflict, took
er, and were as eagerly pursued by the

It was not, however, till his army had
upon the opposite bank, that he perceived
f half conquered already; his men being
d with wading up to their arm-pits, and
enumbed by the intense coldness of the

But it was now too late to retire; for
al came pouring down with his forces,
fresh

fresh and vigorous, so that the battle s
came general. The courage of the Ro
a while withstood every disadvantage, a
the victory in suspense; but they soo
themselves attacked also in the rear by
of horse, which the Carthaginian gen
laid in ambush, to be ready for the c
At length, a total rout ensued; twenty-
sand of the Romans were either killed
enemy, or drowned in attempting to re
Trebia. A body of ten thousand me
survived; who, finding themselves encl
every side, broke desperately through
my's ranks, and fought, retreating, t
were received within the friendly walls
centia.

The loss of these two battles only se
increase the resolution of Annibal, and
lance of Rome. Preparations for the
campaign were carried on with greate
than before; and the Carthaginian gene
ing himself in a condition to change th
the war, resolved to approach Rome, by
ing into Etruria. There were two way
complishing this design: one, more
but secure; the other, which was sho
through the marshes, caused by the inu
of the river Arno. He chose the latt
all the former fatigues of the Carthagini
were nothing, compared to their sufferi
They were forced to march three days an
successively, up to the knees in water,
sleep and without rest; the hoofs of th
came off in their passage, while the b
burthen that carried the baggage, u
support the fatigue, were left dead in t

al, riding upon an elephant, which was
ly one left alive, felt all the complicated
s of his own situation, and that of his
His health had been impaired in the
ing spring, and having then an inflam-
in his eyes, by his present fatigues he
e sight of one of them entirely. At last,
er, he arrived upon dry ground, where he
formed, that Flaminius, the consul, was
ped near Aricia, waiting the arrival of
ther consul with reinforcements from
One of Annibal's chief excellences in
was the care he took to inform himself of
mper and disposition of the generals who
d him; and finding that Flaminius was
nd overbearing, elated with his past suc-
and presuming with regard to the future,
olved to bring him to an engagement before
league should join. Seeming therefore to
o notice of the army which lay in the direct
owards Rome, he made a diversion on one
nd marching onward, as if to besiege the
l, ravaged the whole country in a terrible
er, with fire and sword. Flaminius, as
pected, could not tamely bear to see an
ng enemy laying every thing waste before
out burned for the engagement. It was in
hat he was advised by the senate, and his
ential friends, to use caution, and not to
e enemy's insults provoke him to an un-
combat. He immediately ordered his
to march, the officers foreboding their
danger, while the soldiers were rejoicing
courage of their general, and indulging
hopes of success, rather than considering
asons which they had to inspire them.

Annibal was with his army, at the time
Flaminius came out to engage him, by th
of Thrasymene; near to which was a cl
mountains, and, between these and the l
narrow passage leading to a valley, embo
in hills. It was upon these hills that
posed his best troops, and it was into this
that Flaminius led his men to attack hi
disposition every way so favourable t
Carthaginians was also assisted by acc
for a mist rising from the lake, prevent
Romans from seeing their enemies; wh
army upon the mountains, being above
fluence, saw the whole disposition of thei
nents. The fortune of the day was s
might be expected from the conduct of t
generals; the Roman army was broke
slaughtered, almost before they could p
the enemy that destroyed them. About
fifteen thousand Romans fell in the val-
ley, and six thousand more were obliged
to yield themselves prisoners of war.
general carnage, the brave but unfortuna
minius did all that courage could inspire
his army; wherever the enemy was mo
cessful, he flew with a chosen body of
tendants to repulse them: at last, despai
victory, and unwilling to survive a def
flung himself alone into the midst of the
and was killed by a Gaulish horsema
pierced his body with a lance. Annibal
the battle, kept the Roman prisoners,
villy dismissed those of the Latins; and
to give the consul an honourable int
sought his body amongst the slain, but i
not be recognised in such a mass of carn

Upon the news of this defeat at Rome, after
e general consternation was somewhat com-
sed, the senate, upon mature deliberation, re-
lved to elect a commander with absolute au-
ority, in whom they might repose their last
pes, and entire confidence. Their choice fell
on Fabius Maximus, a man of approved con-
ge, but with a happy mixture of caution, less
scinated with the glare of success, than the
nsciousness of deserving it. This veteran com-
ander, thus invested with the supreme dignity,
forward with what forces he was able to
se, but with no intentions of fighting an ene-
y which he knew to be more powerful than
mself. Before he assumed the command, he
d wisely concerted his measures, and to them
strictly adhered during all the ensuing cam-
igns. He was sensible that the only way to
mble the Carthaginians at such a distance
om home, was rather by harassing them than
fighting. For this purpose, he always en-
mped upon the highest grounds, inaccessible
the enemy's cavalry. Whenever they de-
mped, he likewise took a new position, watched
eir motions, straitened their quarters, and cut
f their supplies. It was in vain that Annibal
ed every stratagem to bring him to a battle;
e cautious Roman, thence surnamed Cuncta-
r, still kept aloof, contented with seeing his
nemy, in some measure, defeated by delay.
nnibal perceiving that his adversaries had al-
red their plan of operations, tried his usual
rts to render Fabius despicable in the eyes of
s own army. He sometimes, therefore, braved
m in his camp; sometimes wasted the countr
und him; talked of his abilities with co

tempt; and, in all his incursions, possessions of Fabius, while those Romans were plundered without m

These Punic arts were not wholl ful: the Romans began to suspect i either of cowardice or treachery; action that ensued soon after, gave their suspicions: for Annibal, c march, for the convenience of fora called Cassinum, was, by the m guide, conducted towards Cassilinu found himself in a close country, h every side. Anxious, however, to advantages he was able from his ordered his cavalry to pillage the cc which the Roman army, still in from a neighbouring hill. Annib his depredations would excite them i revenge; but it was in vain they phlegmatic general to lead them dc enemy. Fabius still kept his post, all the entreaties of his men, and postulations of Minucius, his m horse.

It was now found, however, that Roman began to turn Annibal's own him: he had enclosed that ger mountains, where it was impossib and yet from which it was almost i to extricate his army, without immi In this exigence, nothing but one c tagems of war, which great men c ble of forming, could save him: l number of small faggots and light be tied to the horns of two thousand he had in his camp, and directed

driven towards the enemy. These tossing their heads, and running up the sides of the mountain, seemed to fill the whole neighbouring forest with fire; while the sentinels who were placed to guard the approaches of the mountain, seeing such an uncommon appearance advancing towards their posts, fell back in consternation, supposing the whole body of the enemy was in arms to overwhelm them. By this stratagem, Annibal found an opportunity of drawing off his army, and escaped through the defiles beneath the hills, with considerable damage however to his rear; and though Fabius had conducted himself in this affair with the prudence and conduct of the most consummate general, he could not prevent the murmurs of his army, who began to charge him with ignorance in war, as they had formerly impeached his valour and fidelity.

Nevertheless, Fabius, no way solicitous to quiet the murmurs, either of his army or of the citizens, returned to Rome, in order to raise money to ransom some Roman prisoners whom Annibal offered to release; but in the mean time, he gave instructions to Minucius, his master of the horse, to abstain from giving the enemy battle, upon any occasion whatsoever. Minucius, however, who now began to entertain the same opinion of the dictator, with the rest of the soldiers, little regarded his instructions; but venturing out against the Carthaginians, nished with such success, that, by u consent, he was made equal in power to tator, both generals being appointed mand, each his own part of the arm possessed of equal power, Minucius abandon the prudent plan laid down b

Instead of keeping on the tops of the
he now drew down his part of the ar
plain, and offered the enemy battle.
the disposition that Annibal had l
for, and, pretending to be very earne
possession of a hill which commande
of the Romans, he drew the eyes of
quarter, while he formed an ambus
other side, with orders to sally fo
midst of the engagement. The H
cordingly made a most vigorous atta
Carthaginians, who had taken posse
hill, while new reinforcements wer
either army. At last, Minucius dr
legions, and the engagement becar
It was then that the superior con
Carthaginian commander was disc
the men who were placed in ambu
forth upon the rear, began to throw
Roman army into confusion, and n
than a total defeat threatened to ens
mean time, Fabius, who was just ret
Rome, after soliciting an exchange c
and after selling all his little patrim
a sum which he was denied by the
pay their ransom, reached his army
nucius was in this desperate situatio
not long hesitate upon the course he
sue; but falling upon the Carthagini
stopped the flight of the Romans, an
the enemy's pursuit. Annibal now
that the cloud which had so long ho
the mountains, at last broke upon
storm; he was obliged, therefore, t
a retreat; while Minucius was so ser
imprudent impetuosity, that he con

Fabius, whom he now called his father; and, renouncing his new power, again subjected himself wholly to the dictator.

Soon after, however, Fabius was obliged to lay down his office, the period of his appointment being expired, and a violent contest ensued at Rome, respecting the proper persons to be elected to the consulship. The patricians and plebeians, as usual, taking opposite sides, at last the multitude prevailed, and Terentius Varro was chosen by the majority of voices in the assembly of the people. This object of popular favour was sprung from the dregs of the people, with nothing but his confidence and riches to recommend him. He had long aspired to the highest offices of the state: though he was ignorant, vain, boastful, and confident, fond of applause, and seeking it by all the arts of meanness and adulation. With him was joined Æmilius Paulus, of a disposition entirely opposite; experienced in the field, cautious in action, and impressed with a thorough contempt for the abilities of his colleague. Fabius, who had just resigned his office, saw, with his usual sagacity, the danger that threatened the state, from two such ill-matched commanders, and entreated Æmilius, by all he held dear, to guard against the devices of Annibal, and the rashness of Terentius Varro. But it was now no time for indulging fearful apprehensions, the enemy being at hand, and the Romans prepared with ninety thousand men to oppose him.

Annibal was at this time encamped near the village of Cannæ, with a periodical wind, in his rear, which raising great clouds of dust from parched plains behind, he knew must gr

distress an approaching enemy. In this s
he waited the approach of the Romans
two consuls soon appeared to his wish,
their forces into two parts, and agreeing
the daily command by turns. On the firs
their arrival, it was the lot of Æmilius
mand, but he was entirely averse from en
and though Annibal practised every ar
sulting his men in their camp, and his cc
by reproaching his timidity, to bring h
battle, yet he obstinately declined fightii
scious of the enemy's superior dispositio
next day, however, it being Varro's turn
mand, he, without asking his colleagu
currence, gave the signal for battle: and
the river Aufidus, which laid between
armies, put his forces in array. The t
suls commanded the two wings; Varro
right, and Æmilius on the left; to wh
was consigned the general conduct of
gagement. On the other side, Annib
had been from day-break employed in r
ling his forces as they came up, and i
them with courage by his voice and e
made so artful a disposition, that both t
and the sun were in his favour. His
were ordered to oppose those of Rome;
heavy armed African infantry were p
the wings. These, says the historian, mig
been mistaken for a Roman army, being
in the spoils of such as were killed at Tr
Thrasymene. Next these were the C
fierce people, naked from the waist,
large round shields, and swords of an e
size, blunted at the point. The spaniar
placed in the centre, brandishing short

daggers, and dressed in linen vests, embroidered with the brightest scarlet. Asdrubal commanded the left wing, the right was given to Maherbal, and Annibal fought on foot, in the centre of the army. The battle began with the light-armed infantry; the horse engaged soon after; and the Roman cavalry, being unable to stand against those of Numidia, the legions came up to sustain them. It was then that the conflict became general; the Roman soldiers, for a long time, endeavoured, but in vain, to penetrate the centre where the Gauls and Spaniards fought; which Annibal observing, ordered part of those troops to give way, and to permit the Romans to embosom themselves within a chosen body of the Africans, whom he had placed on either wing, so as to surround them. A terrible slaughter of the Romans immediately took place: they were fatigued with repeated attacks, while the enemy were fresh and vigorous. All the hopes of Rome now lay in the cavalry of the allies, which yet continued unbroken, but even on that side the superior art of Annibal discovered itself: for, having ordered five hundred of his Numidian horse, with daggers concealed under their coats of mail, to go against the enemy, and to make a shew of surrendering themselves prisoners of war; these obeying, and being placed by the allied cavalry, for greater security, in the rear, while they were employed in combating the troops that opposed them in front, all of a sudden, these supposed prisoners fell upon the Romans with their daggers from behind, and put them into irrecoverable confusion.

Thus the rout of the Roman army at last became general in every direction; the boastings of

Varro

Varro were now no longer heard; while Æm
lius, who had been dangerously wounded by
slinger in the beginning of the engagement, sti
feebly led on his body of horse, and did all th
could be done by prudent valour, to retrieve t
fortune of the day. However, being unable
sit on horseback, he was forced to dismount,
did also his followers. But what could be e
pected from a measure dictated only by despair
Though they fought with great intrepidity fo
some time, they were at last obliged to giv
way; and, those that were able, re-mountin
their horses, sought for safety by flight. It wa
in this deplorable posture of affairs, that on
Lentulus, a tribune of the army, as he was flyin
on horseback from the enemy, which at som
distance pursued him, met the consul Æmiliu
sitting, half dead, upon a stone, covered ove
with blood and wounds, and expecting ever
moment the approach of the pursuers. "Æmi
"lius," cried the generous tribune, "you, at least
"are guiltless of this day's slaughter: take my
"horse, while you have any strength remaining
"I will engage to assist, and will with my lif
"defend you. We have already lost bloo
"enough in the field, do not make the da
"more dreadful by the loss of a commander."—
"I thank thee, Lentulus," cried the dying con
sul, "for ever maintain thy virtue, and may th
"gods recompense thy piety; but as for me, all i
"over; my part is chosen; do not, therefore, by
"attempting to persuade a desperate man, lose
"the only means of providing for thine own
"safety. Go, I command thee, and tell the se
"nate, from me, to fortify Rome against the ap
"proach of the conquerors. Tell Fabius also,
"that

milius, while living, ever remembered
ice; and now, dying, approves it."
he was yet speaking, the enemy ap-
; and Lentulus, before he was out of
v the consul expire, feebly fighting in
of hundreds. The slaughter had now
for several hours, till at last, the con-
quite wearied with destroying, Annibal
ers for them to desist, and led them
heir encampments, a large body of Ro-
ing previously surrendered upon con-
being dismissed without arms. A. C. 203.
ttle, the Romans lost fifty thou-
n, two quæstors, twenty-one U. C. 545.
eighty senators, and so many
hat it is said, Annibal sent three
f gold rings to Carthage, which those
der wore by way of distinction on their

eemed the decisive blow, that was to
e the fate of Rome: it only now re-
ınd was universally expected, that An-
ıld march his army to the gates of the
make it an easy conquest. Such was
e of Maherbal, commander of the horse,
:n Annibal rejected it, could not help
;, that the Carthaginian general was
ıre skilful in gaining victories, than in
g them. Indeed, Maherbal's advice
easonable, from the general terror that
in Rome at that time. Nothing was
oughout the city but shrieks and la-
ıs of women, who on every side de-
:heir lost husbands or their children. In
a time, did the senate attempt to con-
:her: they were disturbed by the cries
of

populace. Terror appeared in
nd despair was the language of every
. At length, when the first consterna-
as abated, the senate came to a general re-
n, to create a dictator, in order to give
gth to the government. Orders were also
, to keep all women from coming abroad
increasing the general alarm; and guards
placed at the city gates, with strict in-
tions, that none should leave the city. It was
v that young Scipio, whom we have already
n saving his father's life in battle, was re-
lved to save his country also. He was then
at a tribune of the army, and being retired, the
ight after the battle, to a little town in the
neighbourhood of Rome, was informed that
some young men of the first rank, were as-
sembled at a certain house, preparing to abandon
their country, and resolving to seek for safety by
flight. He was instantly filled with indignation
at their pusillanimity; he therefore resolved t
prevent that influence which their examp
might have upon others; and turning to so
of his fellow-soldiers, who were with him, "
"those," cried he, "to whom Rome is dear,
"low me." So saying, he went directly to
house where they were assembled, and f
them in actual deliberation. Upon this, l
his hand upon his sword, "I swear," excl
he "that I will never forsake Rome, an
"never suffer others to abandon it. Tho
"will not take the same oath, are not onl
"country's enemies, but mine." The
manner in which he spoke, together
known courage, in some measure int
the conspirators; they all took the sa

owed, rather than forsake Rome, to stay
ey were buried beneath its ruins. Thence-
ard the people seemed to gather new re-
on; the senate conceived new hopes of
ry, and the augurs gave them assurances
their affairs would soon assume a favour-
aspect. A short time after, Varro arrived
Rome, having left behind him the wretched
ins of his army: he had been the principal
e of the late calamity; and it was natural to
ose that the senate would severely reprimand
ashness of his conduct. But the Romans
ssed a magnanimity which we in vain look
n other nations. They went out in multi-
s to meet him; and the senate returned him
ks, that he had not despaired of the safety
ome. Such a conquest over all the vin-
ve passions was much greater than the vic-
at Cannæ. The people being thus, by An-
l's delay, inspired with fresh courage, made
ossible preparations for another campaign.
armed their slaves, and filled up the se-
, which wanted nearly half its number. Fa-
, who was considered as the shield of Rome,
Marcellus as the sword, were appointed to
the armies; and though Annibal once more
ed them peace, they refused it, but upon
lition that he should quit Italy.—Terms
lar to those they had formerly insisted upon
Pyrrhus, their first foreign invader.
the mean time, Annibal, either finding the
ssibility of marching directly to Rome, or
ng to give his forces rest after such an im-
ant victory, led them to Capua, where he re-
d to winter. As this city had long been
idered as the nurse of luxury, and the cor-

ruptor of military virtue, a new scene of
opened to his troops, and they at o
themselves up to intoxication, till, f
ing hardy veterans, they became e
rioters. For this their general has bee
blamed by antiquity, as losing that h
casion, when fortune seemed propitious
changing empire for dissipation; but
considered, what serious obstacles he h
surmount, and what an enemy he ha
with. Rome was still powerful; it cou
into the field, at this period, two hund
sand fighting men; it might, therefo
been rashness in Annibal, to lead his
the siege of a city strongly defended by
with a garrison more than four times
his army. We have only, however, to
credit, upon this occasion, for what h
have done, by remembering the seem
possibilities which he happily achieved.
led and maintained a large army, com
various nations, more than a thousa
from home; to have surmounted p
which, considering the season, and t
where he entered Italy, are, to this day,
as almost impassible; to have fought
fully for such a length of time, in the
an enemy's country; to have, by hi
presence, united into obedience, and for
one body, an army, composed of Sp
Africans, Gauls, and Ligurians, and k
steady to him, though often wanting b
have a brave and obstinate enemy to
and faithless employers at home, who r
because they envied, his successes; when
sider him as triumphing over all these

strength of his genius alone, we view in
e most august spectacle that, perhaps,
ty has ever exhibited to the contempla-
man.

herto we have found this great man suc-
l; but now we are to reverse the picture,
urvey him struggling with accumulated
rtunes, and, at last, sinking beneath them.
first repulse was from his own countrymen
me. Whilst, at Rome, the thanks of the
te were voted to a consul who fled, at Car-
ge, Hanno, one of their former generals,
an to form a party against Annibal; and,
re an enemy to his rival than to the Romans,
glected nothing that might obstruct the suc-
ses he had in prospect, or tarnish the splendor
those he had already obtained. Upon An-
bal's sending for a new supply of men and mo-
ey to the senate of Carthage, "What would
this man have asked," cried Hanno "if he had
lost a battle, when he makes such demands
upon us after gaining a victory, No, no, he
is either an impostor, that amuses us with false
news; or a public robber, that enriches him-
self and not his country." This opposition de-
ayed the necessary succours, though it coul
ot hinder their tardy compliance. Thus be
ng frequently destitute of money and prov
ons, with no recruits of strength in case of i
rtune, and no encouragement even when su
ssful, it is not to be wondered at, that his
irs began at length to decline; and that th
f the Roman generals began to prosper, wh
mployers observed a conduct diametrically
osite.

His first loss was at the siege of Nola, wh

Marcellus the prætor made a
He some time after attempted
of Capua, and attacked the
trenches, but was repulsed
loss. He then made a feint of
Rome; but finding a superi
receive him, he was obliged to
years after, he fought with vari
cellus, his opponent, sometir
sometimes losing the advanta
no decisive engagement. H
tories could not restore the aff
for, though these might lessen
enemies' forces, he had exhaus
recruiting his own.

The Carthaginians, at last, s
policy and injustice of their c
resolution of sending his bro
his assistance, with a body of
of Spain. Asdrubal's march b
to the consuls, Livius and
against him with great expediti
ing him in a place, into which
treachery of his guides, they c
to pieces. Annibal had lon
succours with impatience; and
which he had been assured o
rival, Nero ordered Asdrubal
off, and thrown into his brotl
Carthaginian general now beg
disasters of his country; and
with a sigh, observing to those
fortune seemed fatigued with
vours, and was now disposed t

Nor was it in Italy alone, t
Carthage seemed to decline: t

rom their defeat at Cannæ, sent
Spain, Sardinia, and Sicily. This
able people, surrounded by enemies
side, still found resources to oppose
; they not only fought those nations,
ppointed fresh succours to the few allies
a yet adhered to them: they made head
inst Annibal in Italy, and, at the same time,
ndertook a new war against Philip, king of
Macedon, for having made a league with the
Carthaginians. Fortune seemed to favour them
n almost all their enterprises. Lævinius, the
consul, gained considerable advantages over
Philip; and Marcellus took the city of Syracuse,
in Sicily, after a long and vigorous defence.

This great and opulent city, though reckoned indefensible, first invited the efforts of the besiegers. The Romans, therefore, sat down before it, with the expectation of a speedy surrender, and immense plunder. But the wisdom of one man alone seemed to suspend its fate, and to threaten the assailants with destruction. This was Archimedes, the celebrated mathematician, many of whose works are still remaining. He so united the powers of mechanism, that he raised their vessels into the air, and then let them dash to pieces, by the violence of their fall. He also made use of burning glasses, which, at the distance of some hundred yards, set the Roman ships and wooden towers on fire. At last, however, the town was taken, on a great festival, by surprise. The inhabitants were put to the sword; and among the rest, Archimedes, while meditating in his study, was slain by a Roman soldier. Marcellus lamented this irreparable loss, though of an enemy. A passion

tters, at that time, began to prevail am
igher ranks of people at Rome. He th
ordered his body to be honourably bur
a tomb to be erected to his memory, wl
ever his own works have long survived.
Though the affairs of the Romans in S
peared for a while doubtful, by the los
o of the Scipios, yet they soon recov
nder the conduct of Scipio Africanus,
ned for the office of proconsul to that k
lom, at a time when every one else was
ing to decline it. Scipio, who was now
twenty-four years old, had all the qualificat
requisite for forming a great general, ar
good man: he united the greatest courage
the greatest tenderness; superior to Annib
the arts of peace, and almost his equal in t
of war. His father had been killed in S
so that he seemed to have an hereditary c
to be revenged on that country. So many
qualities rendered him irresistible; and t
he obtained many great victories, yet h
quered more by his generosity, mildne
benevolent disposition, than by the force
arms. Among other instances of the g
of Scipio's mind, the following is par
recorded: Upon the taking of New C
he treated his prisoners with the utmo
and, different from other generals,
mitted every barbarity to the soldi
pressed his men from doing any inju
as sued for mercy. Among the pri
a young princess of the most exquis
she had been betrothed to Allucin
of that country, who loved her wi
ardent passion, and had felt the m

r captivity. It was thought, by the generous Roman seemed to designed asking her for himself; when he desired that her parents, leucius, might attend him. The approached, trembling with anxi- to hear, that his mistress was in- omote the happiness of her con- his fears were dispelled, when the princess to his arms, bade at was his by a prior claim, and his friendship and alliance in re- same time he refused the ransom ents had brought; and when they o accept it, he desired it might be portion. It was by such generous as well as the fortune of his arms, ally reduced the whole country to of the Romans.

icily being thus added to the Ro- it soon found resources for con- nic war. However, Annibal still d in Italy, though he was unsup- ne, and but indifferently assisted s he had made in Europe. He in the country for more than four- d, as Polybius says, had never here he was the commander. But o late to retrieve his fortune; the taught his own arts; his old army either with excesses of fatigue or his countrymen had neglected to lies; so that he had nothing left formidable, but the fame of es.

is posture of his affairs, tha

would attempt
Scipio had already formed a ...
was to carry the war into Africa,
Carthaginians tremble for their
This measure was opposed with
Fabius, and thereupon a consider
arose; but at last it was determi
nate, that Scipio should have Sic
vince, and that leave should be
pass over into Africa, if he saw
for the interests of Rome. This
as a concurrence with his intentio
ingly spent the first year in Sic
necessaries for his intended expedi
over to Africa the beginning of
a large fleet, where he was join
nissa, the deposed king of Numid
he had made an alliance in Spain.

Scipio was not long in Africa w
to action; for in a short time, H
him, but he was defeated and sl
the usurper of Numidia, assem
army against him. The Roman
time, declined fighting, till find
tunity, he set fire to the enemy's
tacking them in the midst of
killed forty thousand men, and to
prisoners. Not long after, Syph
make another effort for the empi
that his kingdom would return t
sessor, in case the Romans shoul
... a numerous ar

…e was again defeated, and taken
…sinissa being thus put in possession
…er's person, the better to regain his
…marched with the utmost expedition
…the chief city, and shewing Syphax in
procured the gates to be opened, every
…ing to atone for his former disloyalty,
…mpt obedience. In this manner Massi-
…came possessed of the royal palace, and
…ealth of the late king; but among the
became master of a treasure that he es-
…above all, Sophonisba, the wife of Sy-
…phonisba was the daughter of Asdrubal,
…he Carthaginian generals: a woman of
…nbition, and incomparable beauty, who,
…e beginning, had incited Syphax to de-
…ainst Rome, in favour of Carthage; and
…ience of her charms was such, that he
…ery sacrifice to enjoy them.

Massinissa's entering the palace, he was
the queen, who, with all the allure-
…f weeping beauty, fell at his feet, and
d him to spare her youth, and not de-
up to the Romans, who were prepared
vengeance upon her, for all the injuries
em by her father. While she yet hung
is knees, and, in some measure mixed
with her entreaties, Massinissa found
touched with a passion that was some-
…ore than pity: he therefore quickly
her request, and finding her not averse
olicitations, the very day they met was
their nuptials. The first account th…
had of this precipitate and scandal…
marri…

tion, with an eloque...

Scipio was instantly fired with... the conduct of the young king; he now ... that all his former lectures, exhorting to continence and humanity, were but thrown away; he therefore desired to speak with Massinissa in private, where he urged the cruelty, the impropriety, and the injustice of taking the wife of another, and that on the day on which he had lost his liberty and his kingdom: he entreated the young king to recollect his former virtuous resolutions, and reject a passion that was attended with infamy. Finding, however, these remonstrances make no impression, he added, that Syphax was now the prisoner of Rome; that he must wait upon the senate; and that his queen who was a prisoner also, must attend him then Massinissa now finding that the obstacles to h fancied happiness were insurmountable, left S pio in a seeming acquiescence with his adv ... feeling all that tumult of passions, wh ... love, and ungoverned inclina...

[illegible]ings were transacting at Cirta, [illegible]ians were so terrified at their re[illegible]s, and the fame of Scipio's former [illegible]at they determined to recal An[illegible]i Italy, in order to oppose the home. Deputies were according[illegible]d, with a positive command, to re[illegible]ppose the Roman general, who at threatened Carthage with a siege. ould exceed the chagrin and disap- of Annibal, upon receiving this had long foreseen the ruin of his but at the same time knew, that Italy only place in which its fate could be d. However, he obeyed the orders of [illegible]iated country, with the same submission meanest soldier would have done, and [illegible]ve of Italy, with tears in his eyes, after kept possession of the most beautiful it for above fifteen years.

a melancholy passage from Italy, where lost his two brothers, with most of his , and left the allies of his country to the the conquerors, he arrived at Leptis, [illegible] from whence he marched to Adrum[illegible] d at last approached Zama, a city w[illegible] [illegible]ys' journey of Carthage. Scipio, in[illegible] ne, led out his army to meet him, jo[illegible] inissa, with six thousand horse; a[illegible]

his rival in the field how little he fear
proach, dismissed the spies, who were se
plore his camp, having previously shev
the whole, with directions to inform A
l of what they had seen. The Carthagini
eral soon discovered the superior force of t
my, composed of the flower of the Roman
ile his own army was now but a mixture
rious nations, drawn together by necessit
th little experience, and less discipline. Tl
oops that had almost subdued Italy were wo
ut, or but nominally existing in his army. Co
cious of this, his first endeavours were to fini
the war, by negociation; and for this purpose, l
desired a meeting with Scipio, to confer upc
terms of peace, to which the Roman general a
sented.

It was in a large plain between the two armie
that the two greatest generals in the world ca
to an interview: each, for a while, silently
garded his opponent, as if struck with mu
reverence and esteem. Scipio was, in fig
adorned with all the advantages of manly bea
Annibal bore the marks in his visage of
campaigns; and the loss of one eye gave a
ness to his aspect. Annibal spoke first, t
effect: "Were I not convinced of the eq
"the Romans, I would not this day hav
"to demand peace from the son, over
"father I have formerly been victorious.
"to Heaven, that the same moderation
"I hope inspires us at this day, had p
"among us at the beginning of the w
"you had been content with the limits
"Italian dominions, and that we h

y to our empire; we had
spared that blood, which
victory can repay. As for
s taught me the inanity of
he instability of fortune: but
nd perhaps not yet instructed
of adversity; you are now
er the battles of Cannæ and
u perhaps will aim at splendid,
seful, virtues. But consider,
e end at which all victories
nd that peace I am sent here
o offer. Do not therefore ex-
ard of an hour, that fame
obtained by an age of con-
nt, Scipio, fortune is in your
nt of time may give it to your
me not call myself such: it
now addresses you, Annibal
ur virtues, and desires your
ce will be useful to us both.
ll be proud of the alliance of
have it in your power to
enemy into a stedfast friend."
replied, "That as the wars
ained of were begun by the
ey ought not to complain of
: that as to himself he could
his own perseverance on the
hat some outrages had been
g the late truce, which re-
; and which, if consented
to conclude a treaty."
l dissatisfied; they returned
repare for deciding the con-
rd. Never was a more me-

orable battle fought, whether we regard the
nerals, the armies, the two states that con-
nded, or the empire that was in dispute. The
sposition Annibal made of his men is said to
ave been superior to any even of his former ar-
angements. He encouraged the various nations
f his army, by the different motives which led
them to the field; to the mercenaries, he pro-
mised a discharge of their arrears, and double
pay, with plunder in case of a victory; the
Gauls he inspired, by aggravating their natural
antipathy to the Romans; the Numidians, by
representing the cruelty of their new king; and
the Carthaginians, by reminding them of their
country, their glory, the danger of servitude,
and their desire of freedom. Scipio, on the
other hand, with a cheerful countenance, desired
his legions to rejoice, for that their labours an
their dangers were now near at an end; that th
Gods had given Carthage into their hands; a
that they should soon return triumphant to th
friends, their wives, and their children.
battle began with the elephants, on the side
the Carthaginians; these animals being terri
at the cries of the Romans, and wounded
the slingers and archers, turned upon
drivers, and caused much confusion in
wings of their army, in which the cavalry
placed. Being thus deprived of the assi
of the horse, in which their greatest st
consisted, the heavy infantry joined on
sides. The Romans were more vigoro
powerful in the shock; the Carthaginian
active and ready. However, they were
to withstand the continued pressure of
man shields; but at first gave way a lit

oon brought on a general flight. The
uard, which had orders from Annibal to
e those who fled, now began to attack their
orces; so that the body of the infantry sus-
a double encounter, of those who caused
flight, and those who endeavoured to pre-
it. At length the general, finding it im-
le to reduce them to order, directed that
hould fall behind, while he brought up his
forces to oppose the pursuers. Scipio, upon
mmediately sounded a retreat, in order to
up his men a second time in good order.
now the combat began afresh, between the
of both armies. The Carthaginians,
ver, having been deprived of the succour
ir elephants and their horse, and their ene-
being stronger of body, were obliged to
ground. In the mean time, Massinissa,
had been in pursuit of their cavalry, re-
ng and attacking them in the rear, com-
l their defeat. A total rout ensued; twenty
and men were killed in the battle or the
it, and as many more were taken prisoners.
bal, who had done all that a great general
an undaunted soldier could perform, fled
a small body of horse to Adrumetum;
e he paused on the instability of fortune,
he ruin of his country.

peace was the fruit of this victory. The
aginians, by Annibal's advice, submitted
e conditions which the Romans dictated,
s rivals, but as sovereigns. By this treaty,
were obliged to quit Spain, and all A. C.
slands of the Mediterranean sea.
were bound to pay ten thousand
s in fifty years; to give hostages
ne delivery of their ships and their

elephants; to restore Massinissa all the territories that had been taken from him, and not to make war in Africa, but by the permission of the Romans. Thus ended the second Punic war, seventeen years from its commencement. Carthage still continued an empire, but without power to defend its possessions, and only waiting the pleasure of the conqueror, when they should think proper to put a final period to its duration. After the depression of this mighty dominion, the Romans were seldom engaged, except in petty wars, in which they obtained easy victories; whereas before, they obtained but trifling advantages, from the most dangerous wars. Carthage alone was worthy of Rome; and when the former lost glory, the latter became great without a parison.

CHAP. IX.

of the second Punic War to the Destruction of Carthage.

the conclusion of the second Punic
he Roman citizens had received
only from their abilities, their fa-
r offices, or their virtues: but upon
st of such various countries, so much
id so many slaves were introduced,
anners of the people began to alter.
ve them a taste for pleasures unknown
nd the slaves they had taken were put
offices of labour and husbandry, that
ierly contributed to harden the warrior,
rk the character of Roman simplicity.
ve for their country, and their zeal for
ic good, seemed to be exhausted in the
nflict with Annibal: many had given
whole fortunes to the republic; and not
that recompence in peace which they
l, they began to seek for gratification by
eans, and to forget the tie which bound
the state, in the resentment they felt
particular individuals who composed it.
senate, however, prosecuted new wars,
ith a view to keep these turbulent spirits
ing harm to the empire, than to advance
ests. They continued to carry on the Ma-
n war against Philip; who had offended,
alliance with the Carthagi-
nian

nians, during the conquests of Annibal. To this hostility the Romans likewise were not a little incited by the prayers of the Athenians; who, from controlling the power of Persia, were now unable to defend themselves. The Rhodians, with Attalus, king of Pergamus, also joined the confederacy against Philip; who was more than once defeated by Galba, the consul. He attempted to besiege Athens, but the Romans obliged him to raise the siege; he then made an effort to take possession of the straits of Thermopylæ, but was driven from them, by Quintus Flaminius, with great slaughter. He next attempted to take refuge in Thessaly, where he was again defeated, with considerable loss, and obliged to beg a peace, which was granted on condition of paying a thousand talents, one half in ready money, and the other half in the space of ten years.

The peace with Philip gave the Romans opportunity of shewing their generosity, by restoring liberty to Greece, whose institutions they had long admired and followed; and now, from a principle of gratitude, endeavoured to recompense their masters. The Greeks, on the other hand, made them all the return within their power; namely, gratitude and praise; and thus ended what was called the Macedonian war.

During this conflict, the Gauls, who had joined Annibal, received some signal defeats. The Spaniards also, who had revolted, were quelled by Cato the censor; and the Istrians were subdued. Nabis, the deposed king of Lacedæmon, opposed the Romans, but was obliged to submit. Scarcely, indeed, did

its against them, without expe-
overthrow. Antiochus, king of
monarch, whose strength and fame
heir ambition; and after some em-
th sides, war was declared against
rs after the conclusion of the Mace-

The pretext of the Romans was,
made encroachments upon the Gre-
who were their allies; and that he
efuge to Annibal, their inveterate
had been expelled from Carthage.
hus, surnamed the Great, was one
r's successors. He was bold, am-
master of very extensive dominions,
rsonal abilities invigorated and in-
Ætolians, who had fondly imagined
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n which the other states of
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dom. In order, therefore, to
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d formerly invited the Romans.
ame to their assistance, with
aved as if he intended to be a
than a partner in the war; in-
t Ephesus in ease and pleasure.
the enemy's approach, he en-
t for a peace; this not suc-
d his dependence on his mari-
ven there his expectations were
h the great Annibal was his
midst of the consternation,
ese misfortunes, he abandoned
Lysimachia,

obliged ... triumph of the ... with his two sons, before the ... into Rome; while Gentius, king of ... rians, and his confederates, in the same manner ... preceded the chariot of Lucius Amicus, one of ... the Roman admirals.

These wars, which brought immense riches into the Roman treasury, were no sooner finished, than they found a pretext to enter upon the third and last Punic war. Carthage was now a state that existed only by the mercy of the conquerors, and was to fall at the slightest breath of their indignation. About this time, Massinissa, the Numidian, having made some incursions into a territory claimed by the Carthaginians, they attempted to repel the invasion. This brought on a war between that monarch and them; while the Romans, who pretended to consider their conduct as an infraction of the treaty, sent to make a complaint. ... who were employed upon ... very rich and ...

e years after the conclusion of the Mace-
war. The pretext of the Romans was,
had made encroachments upon the Gre-
ites, who were their allies; and that he
ven refuge to Annibal, their inveterate
who had been expelled from Carthage.
ntiochus, surnamed the Great, was one
ander's successors. He was bold, am-
and master of very extensive dominions,
his personal abilities invigorated and in-
The Ætolians, who had fondly imagined
hould bear sway in Greece, by siding
ie Romans, found, too late, that they
y brought themselves to share the gene-
jection, in which the other states of
were now held, under the specious deno-
n of freedom. In order, therefore, to
one error by committing another, they
this prince among them, in the same
as they had formerly invited the Romans.
ordingly came to their assistance, with
y, but behaved as if he intended to be a
or, rather than a partner in the war; in-
himself at Ephesus in ease and pleasure.
pprised of the enemy's approach, he en-
ed to treat for a peace; this not suc-
, he placed his dependence on his mari-
ces; but even there his expectations were
ed, though the great Annibal was hi
. In the midst of the consternatio
ied by these misfortunes, he abandon

ty cut off, he determined to die. I
efore, one of his followers to bring l
, which he had ready for this exigen
ile he was preparing to take it, " Le
the Romans," said he, " of their terro
they are unwilling to wait for the deat
old man like me: there was a time wh
was more generosity among them; th
" a time when they were known to gua
" enemy from poison; and now they bas
" an embassy to seek the life of a banish
" and to make a feeble monarch break
" of hospitality." With these words, h
the poison, and died, as he had lived,
trepid bravery.

During these transactions the spirit of
sion seemed to rekindle in Rome, and
with new force. In the third year after
clusion of the war with Antiochus, the
of the people undertook to accuse Sci
canus of defrauding the treasury of th
which was taken in war, and of too i
correspondence with that king. Accc
day was appointed him to answer fc
duct. Scipio obeyed the summons
stead of attempting a defence, re
countrymen, that on that very d
gained the victory of Zama. Thi
strongly struck the assembly of the
they all left the tribunes in the For
to attend Scipio at the capitol, to
annual thanks to the Gods for suc
tory. The tribunes finding thems
this attempt, resolved to accuse
nate; and desired that he would
counts. Scipio, instead of g:a

e his vouchers before their faces, withdrew to Linturnum, a town of Campania, where he spent the life, which was only three years, in privacy; testifying his displeasure countrymen, by the epitaph which to be engraved on his tomb: "Uncountrymen! you shall not possess *."

ious spirit once more breaking out in ıtinued for several years, during all uent wars and victories over the Istrians, Sardinians, Corsicans, and ns; for the Romans soon after entered ıd Macedonian war. This was with e son of Philip, who had been com-g peace of the Romans. Perseus, in ecure the crown, had taken off his metrius; and upon the death of his ased with the hopes of imaginary commenced hostilities against Rome. course of this war, which continued years, many opportunities were of-by the rashness of the Romans, of their army; but being either igno-ligent, he spent the time in empty or a peace. At length, Æmilius decisive overthrow near the river

nsummate general, Annibal when in exile pa elegant though oblique compliment. Be on as to the names of the greatest comman which they ought to stand: "The first, "is Alexander, the second Pyrrhus, a ." "And if you had conquered me," hat rank would you have placed you answered the Carthaginian.

E

city;
at the same time
in any part of their territor
miles from the sea. This severe and
injunction they received with all the concern and
distress of a despairing people; they implored
for a respite from such a hard sentence; they
used tears and lamentations: but finding the
consuls inexorable, they departed with a gloomy
resolution, prepared to suffer the utmost ex-
tremities, and to fight to the last for their
seat of empire, and the habitations of their
ancestry.

A general spirit of resistance seemed to i
spire the whole people against their imperio
foes; and they, now too late, began to see
danger of riches in a state, when it had
longer power to defend them. Those ves
therefore, of gold and silver, which their lu
taken such pride in, were converted
had formerly given up their
circumstances, v

e assailants; so that the siege
een discontinued, had not Scipio
ie adopted son of Africanus, who
l to command it, used as much
is forces after a defeat, as to in-
h hopes of ultimate victory. But
uld have failed, had he not found
ace Pharneas, the master of the
horse, who came over to his side.
e he went on successfully; and, at
habitants were driven into the ci-
en cut off all supplies of provisions
ntry; and next blocked up the
e besieged, with incredible indus-
a new passage into the sea, by
ould receive necessaries from the
. Scipio perceiving this, set upon
beginning of the ensuing winter,
thousand of their men, and took
prisoners of war. The unhappy
ough now bereft of all external
resolved upon every extremity,
submit: but they soon saw the
nearer approaches; the wall which
en was quickly demolished; soon
um was taken, which offered the
deplorable spectacle of houses
eir fall, heaps of men lying dead,
ed struggling to emerge from the
id them, and deploring their own
ntry's ruin. The citadel next sur-
iscretion; and all now, except the
carried, which was defended by
n the Roman army, and those who
st active in undertaking the war,
ver, expecting no mercy, and find

while the suppliants had any thing left to si
They therefore received orders to leave
city, which was to be levelled with the gr
at the same time being allowed to build a
in any part of their territories, not less th
miles from the sea. This severe and de
injunction they received with all the concer
distress of a despairing people; they imp
for a respite from such a hard sentence;
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consuls inexorable, they departed with a gl
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tremities, and to fight to the last for
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A general spirit of resistance seemed
spire the whole people against their imp
foes; and they, now too late, began to s
danger of riches in a state, when it h
longer power to defend them. Those v
therefore, of gold and silver, which their l
had taken such pride in, were converte
arms, as they had formerly given up thei
which, in their present circumstances, w
most precious metal. The women also
with their ornaments, and even cut off
hair, to be converted into strings for the
men. Asdrubal, who had been lately
demned for opposing the Romans, wa
taken from prison to head their army; an
preparations were made, that, when the c
came before the city, which they expect
find an easy conquest, they met with su
pulses, as quite dispirited their forces, and
their resolution. Several engagements
ught before the walls, generally to the

ge of the assailants; so that the siege
d have been discontinued, had not Scipio
lianus, the adopted son of Africanus, who
appointed to command it, used as much
to save his forces after a defeat, as to in-
them with hopes of ultimate victory. But
is arts would have failed, had he not found
ıs to seduce Pharneas, the master of the
haginian horse, who came over to his side.
n that time he went on successfully; and, at
h, the inhabitants were driven into the ci-
l. He then cut off all supplies of provisions
ı the country; and next blocked up the
n; but the besieged, with incredible indus-
cut out a new passage into the sea, by
:h they could receive necessaries from the
y without. Scipio perceiving this, set upon
ı in the beginning of the ensuing winter,
d seventy thousand of their men, and took
thousand prisoners of war. The unhappy
nsmen, though now bereft of all external
:our, still resolved upon every extremity,
er than submit: but they soon saw the
ny make nearer approaches; the wall which
to the haven was quickly demolished; soon
r the Forum was taken, which offered the
querors a deplorable spectacle of houses
ding to their fall, heaps of men lying dead,
he wounded struggling to emerge from the
ıage around them, and deploring their own
their country's ruin. The citadel next sur-
lered at discretion; and all now, except the
ple, was carried, which was defended by
:rters from the Roman army, and those who
been most active in undertaking the war.
:se, however, expecting no mercy, and find-

ng their condition desperate, set fire to the building, and voluntary perished in the flames. Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general, surrendered himself to the Romans when the citadel was taken; but his wife and two children rushed into the temple while on fire, and expired with their country.

The conflagration was now extended by the merciless conquerors over the whole of this noble city, which being twenty-four miles in compass, the burning continued for seventeen successive days. The senate of Rome, indeed, ordered that it should be levelled with the ground, A. C. 146. and interdicted its being rebuilt. The U. C. 602. first part of their cruel command was strictly executed; the latter remained in force only for a time. All the cities which assisted Carthage in this war were like wise devoted to the same fate, and the lands be longing to them were given to the friends of th Romans. The other towns of Africa becam tributary to Rome, and were governed by an a nual prætor; while the numberless captives th were taken in the course of this war were s as slaves, except some few that were condem to die by the hands of the executioner. S was the catastrophe of one of the most renow cities in the world, for arts, opulence, and tent of dominion: it had rivalled Rome above a hundred years, and had it been eq martial, it might have gained the superi But the grandeur of Carthage was found commerce alone, which is ever fluctuating at best, serves but to dress up a nation to the conqueror, and to adorn the victim fall.

quest over Carthage was soon followed
ver other states. Corinth, one of the
ies of Greece, in the same year sus-
like fate, being subdued by Mummius,
, and completely razed. The pretext
iolence was, that the Achaians had
var against the Lacedæmonians, who
liance with Rome. Metellus, the con-
nsequence of this, drawing his army
ia, overthrew their general Critolaus;
mius succeeding him in the command,
Dicas the Achæan general, and de-
Corinth, the spoils of which afterwards
le contributed to embellish Rome.
ewise, though at first victorious, was
entirely subdued. Viriatus, the Spa-
nander, who from a shepherd became
and afterwards a general over a nume-
y of men like himself, long harassed
ns; but was at length taken off, by the
achery. The Romans, indeed, suffered
erthrows from this brave people; but
ipio, who had destroyed Carthage, and
the former of that name, was also
Africanus, being made consul, re
e fortune of his country, and laying
Numantia, the strongest city in Spain,
hed inhabitants, to avoid falling A. C.
hands of the enemy, fired the 132.
id them, and all, to a man, ex-
he flames. Thus Spain became a pro-
onging to Rome, and was governed in
two annual prætors. By this severe
of the vanquished, the Romans dis-
nemselves, and shew how much they

CHAP. X.

Destruction of Carthage to the perpetual Dictatorship of Sylla.

haughty and unjust disposition, which became so conspicuous, in regard to elations, was accompanied by a cor- ig train of private and domestic evils. s period every noxious principle which livide, enslave, and at last to destroy, rowth. The Roman power and glory v to have reached their acmé: their afterwards might be more numerous, dominions more extensive, but their was rather an increase of territory than h. They now began daily to degene- their ancient modesty, temperance, licity of life. The triumphs and the Asia brought in a taste for splendid nd this produced avarice and inverted so that from henceforward the pen of pears as if depicting a different nation. o Gracchi* were the first who saw this orruption among the great, and resolved

mpronian family was, though plebeian, one of strious in the commonwealth. Tib. Sempronius been twice raised to the consulate, was a great had been honoured with two triumphs; but he e renowned for his domestic virtues and probity, irth or valour. He married the daughter of the first Africanus,

ved to repress it, by renewing the Licin
N. This law, which had been openly viola
the nobility for upwards of 250 years,
ade any citizen to possess more than 500 ac
f land, and decreed, that the overplus sho
ecome the property of the state. Tibe
Gracchus, the elder brother, was a person v
distinguished, both for the advantages of
person, and the qualities of his mind. V
different from Scipio, of whom he was
grandson, he seemed more ambitious of po
than desirous of glory; and more eager to
brace novelties than to support existing establ
ments. He was liberal rather from nature t
from principle; and his compassion for the
pressed was equal to his animosity against
oppressors: but unhappily his passions, ra

Africanus, that famous Cornelia who was the pattern of he
and the prodigy of her age; and had by her several child
whomthree only arrived to maturity of age, Tiberius Gr
Caius Gracchus, and a daughter, named Sempronia, w
married to the second Africanus. Tiberius, the elde
deemed the most accomplished youth in Rome, with re
the qualities both of body and mind. His extraordinar
were heightened by a noble air, an engaging countena
all those winning graces of nature which recomme
He made his first campaigns under his brother-in-law
tinguished himself, on all occasions, by his courag
prudence of his conduct. When he returned to Ro
plied himself to the study of eloquence; and, at t
old, was accounted the best orator of his age. He
daughter of Appius Claudius, who had been forn
and censor, and was then prince of the senate. I
for some time in the sentiments both of his own a
mily, and supported the interest of the patrician
out openly attacking the popular faction. It i
first conceived an unconquerable hatred against t
consequence of their annulling a treaty with th
which he had been a party in forming.

his reason, operated even in his pursuits of
e; and these frequently drove him beyond
ine of duty. His designs in general appear
ve been honest; but opposition put his in-
ons into disorder; and though he began
principles of justice, he was at last obliged
change his rectitude for his party. Such
he disposition of the elder Gracchus, who
l the lower classes of the community ready
cond all his proposals. Continual injury
neglect, after sacrificing all to the public,
lienated the hearts of the multitude; but
concealed their hatred, or, perhaps, thought
ir duty to suffer; while the senate, unjust,
pt, and mercenary, were only intent on
ising their internal baseness under the dig-
of their conquests abroad. Such was the
of parties, when Tiberius Gracchus pro-
l himself to be chosen tribune of the people.
s he who had formerly attempted to re-
h the power of Scipio Africanus; it was he
prevailed for putting in force the Licinian
But anxious to prevent this law from being
ed to the advantage of the great, as it had
rto been, he caused it to be enacted also,
one half of the illicit surplus should be
to the children of the transgressor; and
ther half distributed to such of the poor as

confusion. But Gracchus, who was a man
the greatest eloquence of his time, easily wi
off these aspersions; and, in spite of interes
opposition, carried his object through popu
favour.

The death of Attalus, king of Pergamus, f
nished this champion of democracy with a r
opportunity of gratifying the meaner part
the people, at the expence of the great. T
king had by his last will left the Romans
heirs; and it was now proposed, that the mo
so devised should be divided among the poor
well as the lands, which became theirs by
late law of partition. This project revived
dormant flame: the senate assembled in orde
concert the most proper method of securing th
riches to themselves; and, as they had numer
dependents, who were willing to sacrifice lib
for pl[illegible] and ease, these were commanded t
in readiness, to intimidate the body of the p
ple, who were attending to the harangues of
berius Gracchus in the capitol. Here, as a
mour was raised by the clients of the grea
one side, and by the favourers of democracy
the other, Tiberius found his speech enti
interrupted, and begged, in vain, to be atten
to; till at last, raising his hand to his head
intimate that his life was in danger, the parti
of the senate perverting his meaning, insinu
that he wanted a diadem. In consequence
this, an uproar spread itself through all r
of people: the corrupt part of the se
called on the consul to defend the comm
wealth by force of arms; but this prudent
gistrate declining such violence, Scipio Na
kinsman to Gracchus, immediately rose up,
preparing himself for the contest, desired

o would defend the dignity and the au-
y of the laws, should follow him. Upon
ttended by a large body of senators and
, armed with clubs, he proceeded directly
capitol, in spite of all resistance. Ti-
, perceiving by the tumult that he was
ularly aimed at, endeavoured to fly; and
ing aside his robe, to expedite his escape,
pted to get through the throng; but hap-
g to fall over a person already on the
d, Saturnius, one of his colleagues in the
eship, who was of the opposite faction,
him dead with a piece of a bench; and
ess than three hundred of his partisans
d the same fate, being killed in the tumult.
lid the vengeance of the senate rest here,
xtended to numbers of those who were su-
d of espousing his cause; many of them
put to death, many were banished, and
ng was omitted to inspire the people with
horrence of his crimes, which, however,
either pretended or at best problematical.
ese dissensions, though for some time in-
pted by a victory gained by Aristonicus,
al brother to the late king of Pergamus,
pretender to the crown, over the Roman
l, Licinius Crassus, were soon renewed.
Aristonicus being overthrown by Perpenna,
consul, and being afterwards besieged in
onice, and compelled by famine to
r, he was, after gracing the conque
ph, strangled in prison by order of t

The respite that was given by th
, afforded an opportunity to the p
ving their former animosities, hea
s Gracchus, the brother of him w

paid the forfeit of his life to the love of
pularity.

Caius Gracchus was but twenty-one upon
death of his brother Tiberius, and, as he was
young to be much dreaded by the great, s
was at first unwilling to risque their resentm
he therefore lived in retirement, unseen, and
most forgotten. But, while he thus seemed
sirous of avoiding popularity, he was, in real
employing his solitude in the study of eloque
which was the readiest means to obtain it.
length, when he thought himself qualified
serve his country, he offered himself candi
for the questorship to the army in Sardi
which he easily obtained. His valour, affabil
and temperance in this office, were remarked
all ranks of men. The king of Numidia send
a present of corn to the Romans, ordered
ambassadors to declare that it was entirely
tribute to the virtues of Caius Gracchus.
message the senate treated with scorn, an
dered the ambassadors to be dismissed with
tempt; which so inflamed the resentme
young Gracchus, that he immediately le
army, to complain of the indignity thrown
his reputation, and to offer himself for t
buneship of the people. It was then t
great found in this youth, who had been h
disregarded upon account of his age, a m
midable enemy than ever his brother ha
His eloquence against the calumnies whi
laid to his charge, exceeded whatever h
heard in Rome; and his intrepidity in
ing his pretensions equalled the rest of
tues. Notwithstanding the warmest o
from the senate, he was declared trib

…ority; and he now prepared to …career which Tiberius had gone

effort was to have Popilius, one of inveterate of his brother's enemies, a the people; who, rather than stand f a trial, chose to go into voluntary next procured an edict, granting the the city to the inhabitants of Latium; after, to all the people on the hither lps. He fixed a maximum for the orn, and procured a monthly distribu- mong the people. He then proceeded e the late corruptions of the senate; he whole body being convicted of bri- rtion, and the sale of offices, a law d, transferring the power of judging agistrates from the senate to the hich effected a great alteration in the n. The number of these officers, thus nspectors over the conduct of all other s of the state, amounted to three who were chosen from among the Gracchus. Ever attentive to the good monwealth, he next ordered the high- e improved and adorned; he caused naries to be built, and stored with ainst times of scarcity; and, to give of justice to the people, he caused ntities of corn, which Fabius, the pro- Spain, had extorted from his govern- e sold, and the money remitted to the vners. In short, on whatever side we character of this great man, we shall ust, temperate, wise, active, and s a to restore the ancient simplic

Rome, but the attempt, though honourable, not in the power of any one to accomplish. I ciples of government, to obtain validity, r ever be in unison with the moral principles actuate the community. Rome was now praved, and nothing could restore it to its mitive innocence.

Gracchus, by these means, however, b grown not only very popular, but very powe in the state, was become the object to which senate directed all their resentment. At f they seemed only to wait till his tribuneship pired, in order to wreak their vengeance v safety; but, contrary to their expectations,

A. C. 122. was chosen a second time to that of though without the least efforts on side to get himself re-elected. T therefore resolved to alter their method of ceeding, and endeavoured to oppose his pularity by setting up a rival. This was Dru his colleague, who seemed to go even bey Gracchus in every proposal; and, being secr encouraged by the senate, so far succeeded his schemes, as to divide the affections of people. The jealousy of Gracchus on occasion quickly blazed out; he treated colleague with contempt: and, as the senate foreseen, it caused a very powerful party of former admirers to declare against him. the greatest effort to ruin him was yet in serve. From the time of his return to Ro from Sardinia, he had been elected one of triumviri, an office instituted by his brother berius, to determine the quantity of land sessed by each individual in the state. In employment Gracchus, who shewed himself

trem

ly assiduous, and impressed with the same
nal spirit of equality, endeavoured to re-
e each man's possessions according to law,
inflexible justice. Those who thought
nselves aggrieved by his severity, had re-
ırse to Scipio Africanus for redress. Scipio,
o had long been an enemy to the Licinian
, was too sensible of the people's power, to
pose it openly; but proceeding with more cau-
n, obtained a new officer to be chosen, whose
siness it was to settle the claims of individuals
ongst each other, before those of the public
ıld be determined by the triumviri. For this
rpose, Tuditanus the consul was chosen; who
ıs having a power of protracting the wished-
division of lands, seemed to bend assiduously
the business for which he was chosen. How-
r, when he could no longer defer the settle-
nt of the lands in question, he pretended to
called off to quell an insurrection in one of
provinces, and thus left the claims and the
ıhes of the people undecided. An universal
mour was raised against Scipio, by whose ar-
ce this procrastination took place; and one
the tribunes even cited him to appear, and
wer for the assassination of Tiberius Grac-
ıs. Scipio, however, disdained to meet the
ırge; but went home, as some thought, to
ditate a speech for the ensuing day; but in
morning was found dead in his bed, and by
ıark round his neck, it appeared that he was
ıngled. The death of this great man pro-
ed much suspicion against the leaders of the
ıular party, a great part of which was di-
ted against Gracchus, who scorned to
ıself from a crime, of which there w

proofs against him. But willing to tur
thoughts of the people another way, he
posed the rebuilding of Carthage and pe
it from Rome. This scheme was gladl
braced by the people, and six thousand fa
with Gracchus at their head, left the city,
der to settle there. But they had scarce
gun to clear away the rubbish, when they
disturbed by several omens, which, to
stitious people, was sufficient to check th
gress of every undertaking. In fact, muc
powerful motives recalled Gracchus to R
for his enemies, during his absence, had e
themselves with effect to blacken his cha
In consequence of this, on his return, he
the populace a faithless and unsteady su
they began to withdraw all their con
from him, and to place it upon Drusus,
character was unimpeached. It was i
that he designed new laws in their favou
called up several of the inhabitants of t
ferent towns of Italy to his support; the
ordered them all to depart from Rome, an
sent one stranger to prison, whom Gracch
invited to live with him, and honoured w
table and friendship. To this indigni
shortly after added a disgrace of a mo
tendency; for, in standing for the tribun
third time, he was rejected, through
tifice of his enemies.

The senate no sooner saw Gracchus r
to a private station, than they determ
ruin him; and deputed Opimus the cons
was his mortal enemy, to be the instru
their malignity against him. The const
to the greatest pride, added the utmost
un

ook the office with alacrity, and first pro-
those laws to be annulled, which were
for establishing a colony at Carthage. He
proceeded to abrogate all the other laws
h had been made during the two tribuneships
ius, appointing a day for that purpose.
t satisfied, however, with the protection
l the senate, the knights, and a numerous
ie of slaves and clients, the consul ordered
ly of Candians, who were mercenaries in
oman service, to attend him. Thus guard-
nd conscious of the superiority of his force,
sulted Gracchus wherever he met him; but
atter avoided all recrimination; and, as if
sed of the consul's design, would not even
any kind of arms for his defence. His
l Flaccus, however, a zealous tribune, was
o remiss, but was resolved to oppose party
rty; and for this purpose brought up se-
countrymen to Rome, under a pretence of
seeking employment. When the day for
mining the controversy was arrived, the
parties, early in the morning, attended the
l, where, while the consul was sacrificing,
ding to custom, one of the lictors taking up
trails of the beast that was slain, in order
nove them, could not forbear crying out
accus and his adherents, "Ye factious ci-
ns, make way for honest men." This in-
o provoked the party to whom it was ad-
d, that they instantly fell upon him, and
d him to death with the writing
which they then happened to
hands. His murder caused a g
nce in the assembly; but pa
hus, who saw the consequences

likely to ensue, repri[illegible]
his enemies such advantage over him, [illegible]
many attempts to speak, but could not be he
on account of the tumult; wherefore he wa
last obliged to retire, and wait the event. A
was passing through the forum, he stop
before a statue, raised to his father's mem
and, regarding it for some time, he burst in
flood of tears, as if deploring the spirit of
times. His followers were not less moved t
he; and all joining in pitying him, vowed n
to abandon a man, whose only crime was his
fection to his country. In the mean time
senate took every method to alarm the city.
to rouse their apprehensions of danger.
consul was directed to take care that the
monwealth should receive no injury; by
form they invested him with dictatorial p
The dead lictor's corse was carried in tr
through the streets, and exposed to view
the senate-house; while the whole body
nobles received orders to be in arms t
day, with their slaves and dependent
Mount Aventine. On the other side,
was sedulously employed in collecting th
[illegible] his shattered partisans: but it was
[illegible] commotions of the

pponents. Notwithstanding, he re- armed as the rest, but taking his and a short dagger for his defence, being attacked, he prepared to lead rs to Mount Aventine. There he at proclamation had been made by , "that whoever should bring either or that of Flaccus, should receive t in gold as a reward." It was to no at he sent the youngest son of Flac- vas yet a child, with proposals for an ation. The senate and the consuls, sensible of their superiority, rejected s, and resolved to punish his offence ng less than death; and in order to party, they offered pardon to all who ediately abandon him. This produced effect; for he was soon left with very ces. He now resolved to wait upon in person; but his friends would not , through an apprehension of losing nander. The child of Flaccus was, sent once more to demand peace; s, the consul, who thirsted for slaugh- d the boy to prison, and leading his o Mount Aventine, fell upon the po- h ungovernable fury; and a terrible ensued. Flaccus attempted to find ruinous cottage, but being discover- n, with his eldest son. Gracchus, at d to the temple of Diana, where he ed to die by his own hand, but was by two of his faithful friends and fol- omponius and Lucinius, who forced k safety by flight. Accordingly he est of his way to cross a bridge, that led

become the property of ...
Gracchus, the elder brother, was a per... distinguished, both for the advantages of his person, and the qualities of his mind. Very different from Scipio, of whom he was the grandson, he seemed more ambitious of power than desirous of glory; and more eager to embrace novelties than to support existing establishments. He was liberal rather from nature than from principle; and his compassion for the oppressed was equal to his animosity against the oppressors: but unhappily his passions, rather

Africanus, that famous Cornelia who was the pattern of her sex, and the prodigy of her age; and had by her several children, of whom three only arrived to maturity of age, Tiberius Gracchus Caius Gracchus, and a daughter, named Sempronia, who w married to the second Africanus. Tiberius, the eldest, was deemed the most accomplished youth in Rome, with respect the qualities both of body and mind. His extraordinary tal were heightened by a noble air, an engaging countenance, all those winning graces of nature which recommend m He made his first campaigns under his brother-in-law, an tinguished himself, on all occasions, by his courage, a prudence of his conduct. When he returned to Rome ... himself to the study of eloquence; and, at thirt ... best orator of his age. He mar

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n to the children of the transgressor; and
other half distributed to such of the poor as
nothing: and lest any, by purchase, should
ge their possessions, three officers were ap-
ted, called triumviri, who were to deter-
and examine the quantity of land occupied
very individual. This, of course, irritated
ich, who endeavoured to persuade the peo
that the proposer only aimed at disturbing
government, and throwing all things int
confusio

superior in abilities to both, and greatly i
vour with the people, he murdered Hiem
the eldest son, and made the same attemp
Adherbal the younger, who escaped, and
to the Romans for succour. Whereupon
gurtha, being sensible how much avarice
injustice had crept into the senate, sent his
bassadors with large presents to Rome, wh
successfully prevailed, that the senate dec
him half the kingdom, which he had thu
quired by murder and usurpation, and sen
commissioners to divide it between him and
herbal. Not satisfied even with this, he
trived at length to murder Adherbal, an
seize the whole. The people of Rome,
had still some generosity remaining, u
mously complained of his treachery; the se
alone, who had been bribed to silence, conti
for a while in suspense. However, a consul
sent at last with a powerful army, to execut
tice on the murderer; but he too being als
fected with the avarice of the times, suff
himself to be bribed; and, suspending his
rations, made overtures for peace.

The people therefore more enraged than be
procured a decree, that Jugurtha should be
moned in person before them, upon the p
faith of the state, in order to give an accou
all such as had accepted bribes. Jugurtha n
no great difficulty in throwing himself upo
clemency of Rome, and soon after appe
before the people in a suppliant manner, an
a dress corresponding with his situation.
instead of discovering those who were bri
he only set about renewing the evil compla
of: and being sensible that every thing

at Rome, without much endeavouring to
nce any by the justice of his cause, he
the more certain methods of interesting
by the distribution of his riches.
e people finding that it was impossible to
ct their magistrates, by drawing evidence
st them from their corruption, soon ordered
rtha to quit Rome. As he had visited
city on the faith of the state, he was pro-
l till he returned to his own dominions;
in the mean time, Albinus the consul was
with an army to traverse his designs. The
operations of the Roman general were
ded with success; and Jugurtha finding
wn inability to oppose him in the field, en-
oured to circumvent him in the cabinet.
proposals for peace were made on his side;
is every day offering himself up as a pri-
, and yet every day securing his power in
ate. Albinus thus saw himself perplexed
reaties, which he could not comprehend;
he time of his command almost insensibly
ed, without having struck any important
. Being obliged to return, to attend the
on of magistrates at Rome, he left the di-
on of the army to Aulus, his brother, a
n every way unequal to the command.
varice induced him to lay siege to Suthul,
ce almost impregnable by nature, and only
ng the enemy, because it contained the
ure of the king. Jugurtha, conscious of
strength of the place, suffered Aulus to
e himself before it; and, with a consum-
spirit of intrigue, at one time pretending
at another, offering terms of accommo-
n, but still lavishing his bribes even to the
meanest

meanest centurion, he led his antagonist i
such straits, that he was finally compelled
hazard a battle upon disadvantageous ter
and his whole army, to avoid being cut to pie
was obliged to pass under the yoke.

Metellus, the succeeding consul, found aff
in this condition, upon his arrival in Numid
—officers without confidence, an army with
discipline, and an enemy ever watchful,
ever intriguing. However, by his great att
tion to business, and by an integrity that sh
dered at corruption, he soon began to retri
the affairs of Rome, and the credit of the ar
In the space of two years, Jugurtha was o
thrown in several battles, forced from his
dominions, and constrained to negociate in
nest for a peace, which Metellus offered to gr
upon condition that he should first deliver
his elephants and arms. With this the Nu
dian prince complied, and they were delive
up accordingly. He was then commanded
pay two hundred thousand pounds weight
silver, to defray the expences of the war:
was immediately paid down. The deser
were next ordered to be given up: which also
complied with. At length, the Roman gen
insisted that Jugurtha should surrender his
son, and put himself upon his trial at Ro
With this he refused to comply, though
cumvented in having already yielded so mu
and thus the treaty being broken, both sides
solved once more to attempt the hazards of
war. All things, however, promised Mete
an easy and a certain victory; but the tim
his consulate being almost expired, another
neral reaped the harvest of glory which hi
du

dustry had sown. This was Caius Marius, who had been sent with him as his lieutenant in the war; a commander who became afterwards the glory and the scourge of Rome. He was born in a village near Arpinum, of poor parents, who gained their living by their labour; and as he had been bred up in a participation of their toils, his manners were as rude as his countenance was forbidding. He was a man of extraordinary stature, incomparable strength, and undaunted bravery. He entered early into the service of his country, and was, from the beginning, remarkable for his exact observance of discipline, and his implicit obedience to those in command. He sought, upon every occasion, dangers equal to his courage: the longest marches, and the most painful fatigues of war, were easy to one bred up in penury and labour. He had already passed through the meaner gradations of office, and each seemed conferred upon him as the reward of some signal exploit. When he stood for the office of military tribune, though his person was unknown, his actions were familiar to the multitude. When elected to that charge, his general found his merit and assistance so great, that he seconded him, with his interest, in procuring him to be made a tribune of the people. It was in this station that his ambition began to appear, and his detestation of the senate, whose vices, indeed, deserved his enmity, became conspicuous. Not to be intimidated by their threats, he boldly arraigned their corruption, even in the senate-house; and when Metellus, who till then had patronised and raised him, disapproved his zeal, he even threatened to commit him to prison. Never-

ess, being afterwards sent under h
tenant into Numidia, Metellus pref
rest of his country to private res
d trusted to Marius with the most i
ncerns of the war. This confidence
isplaced; Marius acquitted himself
ction with such prudence and resolut
e was considered at Rome as second
nand, but first in experience and resol
was in this situation of affairs, that
as has been said, was obliged to solicit
for a continuation of his command; w
rius ungratefully resolved to obtain it
self, and thus acquire the glory of pu
end to the war. To accomplish this
vately inveighed against Metellus by
saries at Rome: he insinuated among
ple, that the war was prolonged, only to
the consul's command; and asserted,
half the army he would make Jugur
soner. By such professions as these,
cited a spirit of discontent against M
brought over a party to his own inte

A C. 106. permitted to stand for the which he obtained, contrar pectation and influence of orders.

Marius being thus invested with power of managing the war, sh every way fit for the commission. wa equal to his valour; and he himself master of the cities whic yet remaining in Numidia. "I ing he had no longer a cap himself, was obliged to have sistance to Bocchus, king o

ter he was married. A battle soon
in which the Numidians surprised
amp by night, and gained a tem-
itage. However it was but of short
for Marius soon after overthrew
ignal engagements, in one of which
ninety thousand of the African
ain. Bocchus now finding the Ro-
werful to be resisted, did not think
to hazard his own crown, to pro-
is ally; he therefore determined to
upon whatever conditions he might
d accordingly sent to Rome, im-
otection and friendship. The senate
mbassadors with their usual haugh-
fter some time, they were given to
that the delivering up of Jugurtha
ns, would, in some measure, con-
avour, and soften their resentment.
pride of Bocchus struggled against
sal; but a few interviews with Sylla,
estor to Marius, reconciled him to
ous measure. At length, therefore,
is given up, and carried by Marius
aded with chains, a deplorable in-
isted ambition. He did not long
verthrow, being cruelly condemned
e to be starved to death in prison, a
fter he had adorned the triumph of
or.

was an end put to the Jugurthine
iews was brought to Rome, that an
mber of barbarians from the north,
g into the Roman dominions, and
Italy with slaughter and desolation.
all men were turned on Marius

mergency, and, contrary to the constitu
of the state, which required an interval
ears, he was made a second time consu
people he was to oppose were the Cimb
Teutones, who had left their forests, to t
nber of three hundred thousand men, in ord
seek new habitations in the fruitful valleys
ly. They had, some time before, invade
aul, where they committed great ravages, a
feated several Roman armies that were se
gainst them. Marius, however, was complete
uccessful. He declined fighting, till their for
vas weakened by delay; but afterwards e
gaging them as they were passing the Alps,
three separate bodies, a bloody battle ensue
which lasted two days. In this the Roma
A. C. 101. were victorious, and Theutobocchus, t
king of the Teutones, was taken prisone
U. C. 647. with the loss of an hundred and fif
thousand men. But, notwithstanding
Teutones were thus defeated, the ar
of the Cimbri remained entire, and had
tually passed the Alps, after having put C
lus, the Roman consul, to flight. Marius,
ever being made consul a fifth time, for the
ple had continued him in office during the
of the war, gave them a dreadful overt
An hundred and forty thousand of thes
barians were slain, and sixty thousand
captive. Their wives, during the engag
fought furiously in chariots by the sides
husbands; and, at last, when they saw
tune of the field decided, slew their c
and then, with desperate intrepidity, fell
tual wounds.

Marius, by these victories, having

very formidable to distant nations in war, soon after grew much more dangerous to his fellow-citizens in peace. Metellus, from being his first patron and promoter, was long grown hateful to him, for his superior influence in the senate; so that he earnestly wished to have him banished from Rome. To effect this, he suborned one Saturninus, who had fraudulently possessed himself of the tribuneship, to prefer a law for the partition of such lands as had been recovered in the late war, and to oblige the senators to take a solemn oath for putting it into execution, in case it was passed. The law was soon enacted, by the interest of Marius; but when the senate came to confirm the observance of it, Metellus, who, considered it as a renewal of the ancient disturbances which had been so fatal to the constitution, endeavoured to persuade them to reject the measure with disdain. At first they seemed inclined to follow his advice: but the influence of his rival being superior, they gave way, and Metellus was obliged to go into voluntary exile.

This success only served to increase the arrogance of Saturninus. Being made a tribune a third time, he filled the city with clamour and commotion. Memmius, who was of the opposite party, was killed in one of these frays, as he canvassed for the consulship; and Glaucius, the prætor, was tumultuously chosen in his stead. This seemed as a signal for a general encounter. The senate were resolved to curb the insolence of the tribunes; and the consuls were ordered, as in dangerous times, to provide for the safety of the commonwealth. Marius, who was one of them, found himself in the disagreeable situa-

of heading a strong body of the senators
patricians, against those very people whom
own intrigues had put into commotion. Sa-
ninus and his followers were forced into the
pitol, where, for want of water, they were
mpelled to yield. Marius still wished to save
iem, but was unable: a large body of Roman
nights broke into the forum, and cut them to
ieces; while the prevailing party, elated with
heir success, recalled Metellus from exile.

Marius being thus doubly mortified by the de-
molition of his party, and the restoration of his
rival, left Rome, under pretence of performing
a vow; but, in reality, with hopes of kindling
up new wars in Asia, where alone his military
talents could have scope for exertion. With
this view, he went to the court of Mithridates,
at that time the most powerful monarch of the
East, hoping either to be dismissed with scorn,
or received with hospitality. In either case he
expected to find his account: if injuriously dis-
missed, Marius would have a colour for declar-
ing war against him; if kindly received, h
would be in a better condition to judge th
strength of his enemy. Mithridates receive
him with great kindness, and dismissed hi
laden with presents, to Rome.

Meanwhile the strength which Marius h
given the popular party was not to be destro
by a single blow: Drusus the tribune, who
posed the popularity of Gracchus, seemed
determined to pursue his example. After m
tergiversation in principles and objects, this
threatened the great with the revival of th
cinian law; and that the allies and confed
of Italy, who were the present possessors,

[redacted]lent to what this law was likely [redacted]n of, he gave them hopes of being [redacted]nizens of Rome. These promises [redacted]l to produce their effect; the Latin [redacted]gan to look upon him as their pro- [redacted]nd came in crowds to the city to support [redacted]reat contentions arose in consequence of [redacted]avours. Deliberation had been long [redacted]l from the assemblies of the people; [redacted]vs were enacted or rejected by clamour, [redacted], and sedition. On one of these oc- Drusus, being warmly engaged in pro- the law for enlarging the freedom of the [redacted]s stabbed by an unknown person, who [redacted]poignard in the wound: Drusus had just enough to avow with his dying breath, grity of his intentions; and that there [redacted]nan in the commonwealth more sincerely [redacted]l to its interests.

Italians being thus frustrated in their at- o gain the freedom of Rome, by the [redacted]f their champion, resolved upon A. C. 90. g by force, what the senate seem- [redacted]use them as a favour. This gave U. C. 658. he Social war, in which most of [redacted]s of Italy entered into a confe- against Rome, in order to obtain a re- their manifold grievances.. Messengers ages were privately sent and interchang- g them; and upon having their claims re- y the senate, they soon broke out into [redacted]ellion. The state now saw a hundred [redacted]d of its soldiers turned against itself, led [redacted]pproved commanders, and disciplined Roman manner. To oppose these, an [redacted]mber of men was raised by the senate, and

and the conduct of
consuls, with whom were united
and the most experienced generals of the
The war commenced with great animosity
either side, but the Romans seemed to have
disadvantage at first. Rutilius, the consul,
into an ambuscade, and was slain. Upon
defeat, the army which he conducted was g
to Marius, who rather might be said, no
forfeit his ancient fame, than to acquire
reputation by his conduct.

After a lapse of two years, the Social
having continued to rage with doubtful suc
the senate began to reflect, that, whether
quered or conquerors, the Roman power w
equally be annihilated. In order therefore to s
their compliance by degrees, they grante
freedom of the city to such of the Italian
as had not revolted; and then offered it t
as would soonest lay down their arms.
unexpected generosity had the desired
the allies, with mutual distrust, offered
separately: the senate took them one
into favour, but gave the freedom of th
such a manner, that, not being impo
until all the other tribes had gi
acquired very little wei

fifty thousand infantry into
thousand horse: he had also
of armed chariots; and in his
dred ships of war. Such power,
eat riches, served only the more
bition of Rome; they but de-
for a war, and that was easily
having invaded and overcome
t were in alliance with, and under
of, the Roman people.

extremely anxious to obtain the
e expedition against Mithridates;
just chosen consul, as a recom-
rvices in the Social war, and his
to equal that of Marius, he was
onsent appointed to conduct the
This general, who now began
in the commonwealth, was born
amily, one of the most illustrious
person was elegant, his air noble,
asy, and apparently sincere: he
but glory still more; fond of po-
sired to please all the world; for
he talked of himself with diffi-
every body else with the highest
: he was liberal, and even pre-
equests which modesty hesitated
e, at the same time, he stooped
aintance with the meanest soldiers,
he sometimes imitated, in order
fections. In short, he was a Pro-
d adapt himself to the inclination,
, or wisdom of those he conversed
had no real character of his own.
as to be quæstor, or treasurer, of
r Marius in Numidia; where by
courage

age and dexterity he contributed greatly to
ain those advantages which ensued. He was
rwards chosen proconsul in the Social war,
ere his actions entirely eclipsed those of every
ier commander; and he was in consequence of
em now appointed to the government of Asia
inor, in opposition to the claims of Marius.
There were several incentives to the jealousy
hich Marius now entertained against Sylla.
The former began to consider this preference as
an unjust partiality in favour of his rival, and
a tacit insult upon all his former victories. He
could not help thinking, that his reputation en-
titled him to the first offer in all the employments
of the state, and he concluded upon depriving
Sylla of his new command. To this end, he
attached to his interest one Sulpicius, a tribune
of the people, but chiefly noted for his enmity to
Sylla; a man equally eloquent and bold, of great
riches but corrupt manners, and rather dreaded
than esteemed by the people. The first effect of
the conjunction of these ambitious men, was to
gain over the Italian towns to their party; and
for this purpose they preferred a law, that these
should vote, not in the rear of the other tribes
but indiscriminately with the rest. This la
was as warmly opposed by the citizens of Rom
as it was resolutely defended by Marius and S
picius, backed by the states of Italy. A tum
ensued, as usual, in which many were slain
both sides.

This commotion was scarcely appeased, w
another assembly of the people was propo
for passing the law, contrary to the comm
of the consuls. A more violent uproar
even the former took place in consequen

Sylla's son-in-law was slain; while Sylla
f, being pursued by the multitude, was
obliged to take refuge in the house of his
Marius; and by the laws of hospitality,
were still reverenced in Rome, saved from
fury. Finding the opposite faction pre-
Sylla instantly quitted Rome, and went to
my he had commanded during the Social
and which was appointed to accompany
pon the expedition into Asia. In the mean
Marius and Sulpicius carried all before
the law for giving the Italians a full par-
ion of the freedom of the city, passed
it opposition; and by the same law it was
d, that the command of the army ap-
d to oppose Mithridates, was to be trans-
from Sylla to Marius.

ediately on this, Marius sent down of-
rom Rome, to take the command in his
but Sylla had taken care to secure the
of the army, with whom he had already
so many signal victories, and who were
devoted to his will. Instead, therefore,
ing the orders of Marius, they slew the
, and then entreated their general that he
lead them directly to execute vengeance
ll his enemies at Rome. In the mean
larius, being informed of this, was not
making reprisals upon such of Sylla's
as fell into his hands. This produced
urmurs in Sylla's camp; the army in-
pon being led to the capital, and their
, who was naturally vindictive, at length
ned to comply.

's army, amounting to six legions, in
seemed animated with the resentment of
their

.eader, and breathed notning but slaugh
evenge. However there were a few
ining, who, even in this time of gene
iption, could not think of turning their ar
nst their native city, but quitted the ca
fled. Thus a strange migration of differ
ties was seen; some flying from Rome
oid the resentment of Marius, and others
ting from the camp, not to be accomplices
e guilt of Sylla. Nevertheless the army c
nued to advance: it was to no purpose that
rætors went out from the city in form to int
lict its further progress; the soldiers broke
ensigns of their office, and tore their pur
robes with derision. The senate next sent de
ties to lay an injunction on Sylla not to adva
within five miles of Rome. The deputies w
for some time amused by Sylla; but they scarc
returned to give an account of their commiss
when he arrived with all his forces at the g
A. C. 87. of the city. His soldiers entered s
in hand, as into a place taken by s

Marius and Sulpicius, at the head
tumultuary body of their partisans, atte
to oppose their entrance; and the ci
who feared being plundered, threw down
and tiles from the tops of the houses upon
truders. So unequal a conflict lasted lon
could have been expected; but, at leng
rius and his party were obliged to seek
flight, after having vainly offered liber
the slaves who should assist them in t
gency.

Sylla, finding himself master of
placed bodies of soldiers in differer
prevent pillage and disorder. He ev

verely for entering houses by force, and
ie night in visiting their quarters, and re-
g their impetuosity. The next morning
n by modelling the laws so as to favour
violation of them, and to repeal all that
n done by his opponents. He likewise
a decree, whereby Marius, Sulpicius, and
r leading men, were declared enemies to
untry, in consequence of which it was
for any person to kill them.

ng thus brought the laws to second his
n, he caused the goods of the proscribed
nfiscated, and then sent troops into all
apprehend them. Marius escaped, but
is was found in the marshes of Lauren-
and his head being cut off, was fixed upon
rum at Rome. Sylla having thus, as he
d, entirely restored peace to the city,
d upon his expedition against Mithri-
oping to give new vigour to his designs,
wealth and honours which he expected to
the East.

while Sylla was intent only in counter-
the measures of Marius, he had over-
a very formidable opponent, who was
rowing into popularity and power at
This was Cornelius Cinna, born of a
n family, but strongly attached to the
from motives of ambition. He was a
ger after glory, but incapable of patiently
its regular approach: rash, hot, and
e, but, at the same time, bold and enter-
he was ambitious to become a dema-
because he could sway the senate. He
e offered himself for the consulship, in
on to the interests of Sylla; and, either
gue or popularity, he carried it.

Soon after Cinna was invested with his n
dignity, he unmasked himself; he boasted, t
he would annul all the laws which had b
lately made in favour of the patricians, and
cordingly began by endeavouring to attach
Italians firmly to his interest. This was o
to be effected, by giving them an equal par
pation in the freedom of the city, of which S
had lately deprived them. He, therefore,
his emissaries among the country states, de
ing their attendance at Rome upon a cer
day, and enjoining them to conceal swo
under their robes. Thus, when he had prepa
a party to support his pretensions, he publ
proposed a law, by which the votes of the
mocratic interest was sure to preponderate
the patrician. To propose such a law at
time, was, in effect, to declare a war. An
gagement ensued, in which the Italians, b
previously armed, were victorious for a wh
but Octavius, the other consul, coming wit
powerful body of Sylla's friends to oppose th
soon turned the fortune of the day, and obli
the Italians to quit the city.

Cinna, though thus defeated in his purp
had, notwithstanding, the pleasure of find
all the states of Italy strongly united in hi
vour, from the efforts he had made in their
half; and having, by various artifices, stimul
them to a general insurrection, he begar
make levies both of troops and money. In
manner a powerful army was soon raised;
Cinna, as consul, was, without opposition, pl
at its head. In the mean time, the senate,
were apprised of those violent proceedings, s
moned him to take his trial; but not appear
he was degraded from his rank as a citizen;

pr

of his office of consul, and Lucius Me-
iest of Jupiter, elected in his stead. Such
ies, however, only served to increase his
e and inflame his animosity. He ap-
before a body of the Roman forces that
ncamped at Capua, in a humble and
ng manner, without any of the ensigns
fice. He entreated them, with tears and
tions, not to suffer the people of Rome
sacrifice to the tyranny of the great;
ked the Gods who punished injustice, to
f the rectitude of his intentions; and so
railed upon the soldiers, that they unani-
resolved to espouse his cause. Thus his
h daily increased; several of the senators,
re wavering before, now came over to
; and, what was equal to an army in it-
lings were brought, that Marius, escap-
m a thousand perils, was with his son
he road to make a common cause with

great general, at the age of seventy,
umberless victories, and six consulates,
ndered for some time as an outcast from
, and in peril every hour of falling into the
of his enemies, whose pursuit was still as
as their wrath was unabated.

s encompassed with dangers, he was
l to conceal himself in the marshes of
num, where he continued a whole night
agmire. At break of day he left this
place, and made towards the sea-side,
es of finding a ship to facilitate his escape;
ing known and discovered by some of the
ants, he was conducted to a neighbouring
vith a halter round his neck, and, while
vered over with mud, sent to prison.

The governor of the place, willing t
to the orders of the senate, soon af
Cimbrian slave to dispatch him; bu
barian no sooner entered the dunge
purpose, but he stopped short, intimid
dreadful visage and aweful voice of t
who sternly demanded, if he had the
tion to kill Caius Marius? The slave,
reply, threw down his sword, and, ru
from the prison, cried out, that he co
possible to destroy him! The gover
sidering the fear of the slave as an or
unhappy exile's favour, gave him once
freedom; and, commending him to h
provided him with a ship to convey
Italy. He from thence made the b
way to the island of Ænaria, and sailin
was forced by a tempest upon the coast
A Roman quæstor, who happened to
same place, resolved to seize him; by
lost sixteen of his crew, who were kille
endeavours to cover his retreat to the s
afterwards landed in Africa, near
and seated himself in a melancholy mo
the ruins of that desolated place. He s
ever, received orders from the prætor,
verned there, to retire. Marius, who r
his having once served this man, when
sity, could not suppress his chagrin, a
ingratitude in every quarter of the w
preparing to obey, desired the messen
his master, that he had seen Mari
among the ruins of Carthage, intim
greatness of his own fall, by the desol
was spread around him. He then
once more, and not knowing where to l
out encountering an enemy, spent the

sea, expecting every hour the return of a messenger from his son, whom he had sent to solicit the protection of an African prince, named Mandrastal. After long expectation, however, instead of the messenger, his son arrived, having with difficulty escaped from the inhospitable court of that monarch. It was in this situation, that they accidentally heard of the activity of Cinna in their favour, and accordingly made the best of their way to join him.

Cinna, upon being apprised of their approach, sent his lictors, with all other marks of distinction, to receive them; but Marius would not accept of these instances of respect, as being ill suited to his abject situation. His beard was long and neglected, his pace slow and solemn, and all his actions shewed a mind strongly actuated by resentment, and meditating revenge. Five hundred of the principal citizens of Rome went to congratulate his return; a considerable number of veterans, who had fought under his standard, came to offer him their service; and, to increase his forces still more, he proclaimed freedom to all slaves who should join him. His first operation was to take the city of Ostia by storm; he then advanced with his whole army, and posted himself upon the Janiculum, a hill that overlooked Rome, where he was joined by Cinna, with an army as numerous as his own; and being animated with the same spirit, they resolved to lay siege to their native city.

The senate and consuls were now driven almost to despair. Sylla was at a distance, and Cneius Pompeius, who commanded an army near Rome, was so equivocal in his conduct, that neither side could rely upon him, whom

they both equally feared. They therefore sent to Metellus, then lying with a body of troops among the Samnites; but his soldiers, instead of granting them any aid, soon after joined Marius. Thus deserted by all, they daily saw the towns about the city taken and plundered, and great numbers of slaves every hour deserting to the enemy. In this exigence, they had no other resource but submission: they accordingly resolved to send ambassadors to the two generals, assuring them of their ready acquiescence, and desiring them to enter the city peaceably, and to spare their country. Cinna, however, refused to grant any audience, till he was restored to the consulship, when he received the ambassadors of the senate in form. They invited him into the city, and requested him to undertake the duties of his office; they entreated him to regard his countrymen with tenderness, and endeavoured to obtain from him an oath, that he would put no man to death, but after a legal manner, and conformably to the ancient usages of Rome. Cinna refused the oath, but promised, that he would not willingly cause any man's death. During this conference, Marius continued standing by the consul's tribunal, observing a profound silence; but his furious air, and eyes glancing with fire, were but too sure presages of the carnage he meditated.

Cinna and Marius soon presented themselves at the gates of the city, at the head of their troops. The former boldly entered, accompanied by his guards; but Marius stopped short, alleging that, having been banished by a public decree, it was necessary to have another to authorise his return. It was thus that he desired

to

ive his sanguinary designs the appearance of
ice; and, while he meditated the destruction
housands, to pretend an implicit veneration
the laws. In pursuance of his request, an
mbly of the people being called, they began
everse his banishment; but they had scarce
e through three of the tribes, when, inca-
le any longer of curbing his passion for re-
ge, he entered the city at the head of his
rds, and massacred all who had been ob-
ious to him, without remorse or pity: Oc-
us, the consul, was assassinated in his chair
ffice; Merula, who had been his colleague
he room of Cinna, killed himself to avoid
ng by the enemy; Caius and Lucius Julius,
anus, Lentulus, Numitorius, and Bebius,
enators of the first rank, were butchered in
streets, their heads placed upon the rostrum,
their bodies given to be devoured by dogs:
ıy more shared the same fate. The blood-
nds of Marius, breathing slaughter and ven-
ıce, stabbed fathers of families in their own
ses; violated the chastity of matrons; and
ied away their children by force. Several
sought to propitiate the tyrant's rage, were
dered in his presence; many of those who
never offended him were put to death; and,
ıst, even his own officers could not approach
but with terror.

aving in this manner punished his enemies,
ext abrogated all the laws which were made
ıis rival, and then created himself consul
Cinna. Thus gratified in his two favourite
ions, vengeance and ambition, having once
d his country, and now deluged it with
d, at last, as if willing to crown the pile of
slaughter

slaughter which he had made, with body, he died the month after, aged u seventy, not without suspicion of havin his end, which it would have been mankind, and propitious to his own fa happened more early.

In the mean time these melancholy were brought to Sylla, who had many signal exploits against Mithrida monarch having caused an hundred thousand Romans, who were in his to be slain in cold blood, next sent Archelaus to oppose Sylla; but he w near Athens with the loss of an incre ber of his forces. Another battle fo which the Roman general recovere countries that had been usurped by M so that both parties were now incline commodation; Mithridates, induced b and Sylla, by a desire of returning take vengeance on his enemies in Ro

A peace was accordingly soon cluded, the principal articles of which Mithridates should defray the char war; and should keep within his own dominions. Thus having, in less years, brought the Asiatic war to an conclusion, Sylla prepared for his r viously informing the senate by lette great services he had done the stat ungrateful return he had received fr envied his fortune. The senate, wh to be considered rather as a party Marius, than as the independent p Rome, greatly dreaded the effects indignation. They already antic

slaughters he was about to make, and therefore sent to treat with him; offering to comply with every reasonable demand. They even invited Cinna to resign his power, and to join with them in deprecating Sylla's anger, by timely submission.

Cinna, however, knew how little mercy he had to expect from his opponent; and, instead of obeying the senate, returned them an evasive answer; but in the mean time, proceeded to raise forces, and to oppose Sylla even in Asia, by sending an army thither, to attack Mithridates, under the command of Valerius Flaccus, his colleague in the consulship. But, as this leader was inexperienced in the field, Fimbria, an old soldier of reputation, was sent as lieutenant, with directions to correct, by his experience, the too great impetuosity of the general. They soon, however, began to differ; and the breach widening every day, the consul thought proper to depose Fimbria from his command. Fimbria, instead of submitting to his superior, brought his cause before the army: a general mutiny ensued; the consul attempted to escape; but, being discovered at the bottom of a well, was dragged out and murdered by his own soldiers. In the mean time, Fimbria taking the command of the army, led it against Mithridates, over whom he gained a signal victory; and might have completed his triumph over that monarch, but that the same disobedience of which he was guilty to his own commander, was practised by his soldiers against himself; for, shortly after, at Sylla's approach, his troops all deserted to join their fellow-citizens in the other army, in consequence of which Fimbria fell upon his own sword.

The

The ill success of this army, however, did not intimidate Cinna from making preparations to repel his opponent. Being joined by Carbo, now elected in the room of Valerius, who had been slain, together with young Marius, who inherited the abilities and the ambition of his father, he determined to send over part of the forces he had raised from Dalmatia, to prevent Sylla from entering Italy. Some troops were accordingly embarked; but these being dispersed by a storm, the rest, who had not yet put to sea, absolutely refused to go. Upon this, Cinna, enraged at their disobedience, rushed forward to awe them into their duty. In the mean time, one of the most mutinous of the soldiers, being struck by an officer, returned the blow, but was apprehended for his crime. This ill-timed severity produced a tumult and a mutiny through the whole army; and while Cinna endeavoured to prevent or appease it, he was run through the body by an unknown hand.

A. C. 84.

The army, being thus deprived of their principal leader, continued under Carbo for some time. The next year's consuls being Urbanus and Scipio, new levies were made, and the affairs of the party seemed to wear a very favourable aspect. In short, a great concourse of people flocked from different parts of Italy to support the consuls, who soon saw themselves at the head of an army superior to that of Sylla, whose approach was so much dreaded by all ranks of men.

Sylla, however, was not less alert and expeditious. By long and forced marches, he hastened to his native country, which he intended to deluge with blood. Being arrived at Dyrachium,

m, where he had prepared a fleet to convey into Italy, he harangued his army before embarked, entreating, that they would en- e themselves by an oath, to continue faithful is cause. To this they unanimously con- ed, with many professions of esteem and the t generous attachment; and, after a fa- rable passage, landed at Brundusium.

oon after his arrival there, the remains of shattered party, which had escaped the criptions of Marius, came to join him; but, ll the succours which he received, none were e timely or pleasing, than those which were ıght him by Cneius Pompey, afterwards ıamed the Great. This commander began ady to shew the dawnings of that spirit, ch afterwards shone with such lustre in the monwealth. Though but twenty-three years ge, and at that time invested with no public racter, he found means to raise an army of e legions in Picenum, and to overthrow tus, who commanded the troops of the op- te faction in that district. This victory was signalised by his killing the general of the ılish cavalry, in single combat, for which he saluted with the highest marks of respect Sylla, who intuitively beheld his future ıtness.

ı civil war being thus unavoidable, and both ies being now advanced very near each r, Sylla was willing to try how far the im- ıse riches he brought with him from Asia e capable of shaking the enemies' forces, ıout a conflict. For this purpose, he sent uties to Scipio, the consul, who commanded inst him, with proposals for coming to a treaty.

treaty. The consul, who sought for notl
much as peace, very readily embraced his
but desired time, previously to confe
Urbanus, his colleague, upon a measure in
he was equally concerned. This was
Sylla desired; for in the mean time, a susp
of arms being agreed upon, his soldier
into the opposite camp, displaying those
which they had acquired in their expe
and offering to participate with their
citizens, in case they changed their party.
same motives that prevailed on the sol
Fimbria to desert him, now prevailed
those also to abandon their standard. The
army declared unanimously for Sylla
Scipio scarcely knew that he was forsak
deposed, till he was informed of it by a p
the enemy, who, entering his tent, ma
and his son prisoners. Sylla, however,
with great moderation towards him; h
ployed all his arts to bring him over
party; but finding him inflexible, he gene
gave him his freedom.

These machinations succeeding so well,
resolved to try the same arts upon the
commanded by Urbanus, the other consul
sent deputies to him, desiring a conferenc
the consul, instructed by the fate of h
league, confined the deputies, and march
rectly against Sylla, in hopes of taking h
surprise. An engagement ensued, in
Sylla's troops, though attacked when i
order, repaired by their courage, what
wanted in regularity. Urbanus lost sever
sand men, and was obliged to take ref
Capua, with the shattered remains of his

Italy, from one extremity to the other, now began to feel all the desolations and miseries of a declared civil war. Sylla, who was particularly versed in the business of seduction, employed large sums of that money which had been plundered from the East, all over the country, and even among the barbarous nations of Gaul, to extend his interests. On the other hand, the Samnites, to the number of forty thousand men, declared in favour of Carbo, who was chosen consul a third time, with young Marius, of whom his party had formed great expectations. The operations in the field, which had been suspended during the winter, opened with still greater vigour in the beginning of the spring. Marius, at the head of twenty-five cohorts, offered Sylla battle; which this general, knowing how the troops against him were pre-disposed, readily accepted. At first the fortune of the day seemed doubtful, but, just at that period in which victory began to waver, a part of the troops of Marius, which had been previously corrupted, fled in disorder, and this decided the fate of the day. Marius, having vainly endeavoured to rally his troops, was obliged to take refuge in Præneste, a strong place that was still stedfast in his cause. Sylla closely pursued him there, and, having invested the city on every side, marched at the head of another detachment to Rome. B. C. 81.

The inhabitants, thinned by famine and the ravages that attend a civil war, opened their gates upon his arrival. Sylla entered the Forum, and assembling the people, he reprimanded them for their infidelity. However, he exhorted them not to be dejected, for he was still resolved

to pardon and protect them. He observed, that he was obliged, by the necessity of the times, to take vigorous measures, and that none but their enemies and his own should suffer. He then put up to sale the goods of those that fled; and leaving a small garrison in the city, returned to besiege his rival.

Young Marius, on the other hand, made many attempts to raise the siege; but being frustrated in all his designs, either to repulse or to escape his besiegers, he gave way to that resentment which seems to have been hereditary in his family; and, ascribing the want of success to the treachery of Sylla's friends, who pretended to remain neuter, he sent orders to Brutus, the prætor at Rome, to put all those senators to death whom he suspected to be in the interest of his rival. With this cruel command, Brutus immediately complied; and many of the first rank were butchered as they were leaving the senate.

Both factions, thus exasperated to madness by mutual injuries and recriminations, gave vent to their fury in several engagements. The forces on the side of Marius were the most numerous, but those of Sylla better united and disciplined. Carbo, who commanded an army for Marius in the field, sent eight legions to Præneste, to relieve his colleague; but they were intercepted by Pompey in a defile, who slew many of them, and dispersed the rest. Carbo, joined by Urbanus, soon after engaged Metellus, but was overcome with the loss of ten thousand men slain, and six thousand taken prisoners. In consequence of this defeat, Urbanus, one of the consuls, killed himself, and Carbo fled to Africa, where,

liere, after wandering a long time, he was at st delivered up to Pompey, who ordered him be beheaded.

Still, however, a numerous army of the Samites were in the field, headed by several Roman generals, and by Telesinus, a Samnite, who ad shewn himself equal to the greatest commanders of the age. Being joined by four legions, commanded by Carinus, a resolution as formed to make one desperate effort to raise ie siege of Præneste, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly, Telesinus made a show of advancg with great boldness, to force the enemy's nes of circumvallation. At the same time ylla, at the head of a victorious army, opposed m in front; while orders were sent to Pompey follow and attack him in the rear. The Samte general, however, shewed himself superior both in these operations; for judging of their esigns by their motions, he led off his troops night, and, by forced marches, appeared ext morning upon the mountains that overoked Rome. This devoted city had just time fficient to shut its gates, to prevent his enance; but he hoped to seize the place by a bold sault, and encouraging his soldiers, both by eir ancient enmity to the Roman state, and eir hopes of immense riches when the city was ken; he brought on his men, and led them ldly to the very walls. Appius Claudius, who as at that time in Rome, and in the interest of rlla, made a sally to oppose him. The Roans fought with that animation which the coniousness of defending every thing dear inspires. at Appius was killed in the combat, and the st, disheartened by the loss of their general,

seemed preparing for flight. Just at this inte
val, a party of Sylla's horse appeared at the o
posite gates, who throwing themselves into t
city, and hastening through it, met the assai
ants on the other side. The desperate fury
these, in some measure, suspended the fate
the battle, till Sylla with his whole army ha
time to arrive. It was then that a general an
dreadful conflict ensued between the Samni
and the Roman army. The citizens from the
walls beheld thousands fall on both sides. T
battle continued till the morning, when Syl
found himself completely victorious. He th
visited the field of action, on which more th
fifty thousand of the vanquished and the victo
lay promiscuously. Eight thousand of the Sa
nites were made prisoners, and killed in co
blood after the engagement. Marcius and C
rinus, attempting to escape, were taken, a
their heads being cut off, were sent, by Syll
command, to be carried round the walls
Præneste. At this sorrowful sight, the inh
bitants of the place, being now destitute of p
visions, and despairing of all succour from wi
out, resolved to surrender; but it was only
experience the unrelenting fury of the conquer
who ordered all the males to be slain. Mar
the cause of these calamities, was at first m
ing, and it was thought had escaped, but
was at last discovered lying dead with a capt
of the Samnites, at the issue of one of the s
terranean passages which led from the city.
city of Norba now alone remained unsubd
in Italy; the inhabitants of which, after a l
resistance, dreading the fate of Præneste,
their town on fire, and desperately perishe

ie flames. The destruction of this place put n end to the civil war: Sylla, now become the ndisputed master of his country, entered Rome t the head of his army. Happy, had he sup-orted in peace the glory which he had acquired war; or had he ceased to live, when he eased to conquer!

Being now no longer obliged to wear the ask of lenity, he began his tyranny by assem-ling the people, and desiring an implicit obe-ience to his commands, if they expected fa-our. He then caused it to be proclaimed, that ose who expected pardon for their late offences, ust obtain it by destroying the enemies of the ate. This was a new and diabolical mode of roscription, by which the arms of all were rned against all. Great numbers perished by is mutual power of destruction; and nothing as to be found in every place, but menaces, strust, and treachery. Eight thousand, who ad escaped the general carnage, submitted emselves to the conqueror of Rome; he order-d them to be put into the Villa Publica, a large ouse in the Campus Martius; and at the same me convoked the senate. There he spoke with reat fluency, and in perfect composure, of his wn exploits; while he had given private di-ctions, that all those wretched captives should e slain. The senate, amazed at the horrid out-ies of the sufferers, at first thought that the ty was given up to plunder; but Sylla, with unembarrassed air, informed them, that it as only some criminals who were punished by s order, The day after, he proscribed forty nators and sixteen hundred knights; and, after intermission of two days, forty senators more,

with an infinite number of the richest citizens of Rome. He declared the children and the grand-children of the opposite party infamous, and divested of the rights of freemen. He ordained by a public edict, that those who saved or harboured any of the proscribed should suffer in their place. He set a price upon the heads of such as were thus to be destroyed, two talents being the reward promised for every murder. Slaves, incited by such offers, massacred their masters; and, what was more shocking to humanity, children, whose hands still reeked with the blood of their parents, came confidently to demand the wages of parricide!

Nor were the enemies of the state the only sufferers; Sylla permitted his very soldiers to revenge their private injuries. Riches now became dangerous to the possessor, and even the reputation of fortune was equivalent to guilt. The brother of Marius felt the conqueror's most refined cruelty! First, he had his eyes plucked out deliberately; then his hands and legs were cut off at several times, to lengthen his torments; and in this agonizing situation he was left to expire. At the detail of such horrors, humanity sickens, and nature revolts; while piety lifts up its eyes to Heaven and is ready to ask, why such enormities are permitted to disgrace creation. But these barbarities were not confined to Rome: the proscription was extended to many of the inhabitants of the cities of Italy; and even whole towns and districts were ordered to be laid desolate. These were given to his soldiers as rewards for their fidelity; who, still wanting more, excited him to new acts of cruelty. In this general slaughter, Julius Cæsar, who had married Cinna's

ina's daughter, escaped with difficulty. Sylla, wever, was prevailed upon to let him live, ugh he was heard to say, that there were ny Mariuses in Cæsar.

These sanguinary and violent measures ld only be supported by an increase power. Sylla therefore invested him- with the dictatorship; and thus unit- all civil as well as military power in own person, he from thence gave an air of jus- to every oppression. The people were too ch humbled to attempt curbing his insolence: y silently assented to all his claims, however itrary and unjust. A. C. 80. U. C. 668.

The government of Rome having now passed ough all the forms of monarchy, aristocracy, d democracy, by a natural transition began to le into despotism; from which, though it de some faint struggles to be free, yet it never er completely extricated itself. Sylla, how- r, to amuse the people with a show of their mer government, permitted them to have suls; but at the same time took care, that ne but his own creatures should be elected; d that all their power should be entirely de- ed from him.

Among other alterations, he added three ndred of the knights to the senate; and ten usand of the slaves belonging to the pro- ibed, to the body of the people. To establish se regulations more firmly, he appropriated himself the treasures of the public; and lavish- them in widening his dependencies, and engthening his interests. Crassus, already richest man in the state, was ever soliciting d obtaining an accumulation of his favours.

Pompey

Pompey put away his wife Antistia to oblige him, and married Emilia, the dictator's step-child. He attempted to exercise the same power over Julius Cæsar, by obliging him to repudiate his wife Cornelia; but that young Roman preferred exile to a compliance, from which he resolved never to return, till Sylla was no more.

In this manner he continued to govern with capricious tyranny, none daring to resist his power; for if they made the least opposition, they were sure to feel his vengeance. Whenever he proposed laws, the people assembled, not to deliberate upon their fitness, but to give them the sanction of their consent. They found themselves quite ejected from any concern in the state; and saw nothing before them, but a prospect of hopeless and confirmed slavery. It was at this juncture, however, that, contrary to the expectations of all mankind, Sylla laid down the dictatorship, having held it not quite three years.

It was not without the greatest surprise, indeed, that the people saw this despot, who had made himself so many enemies in every part of the state, quitting a power he had usurped at so much risque and danger, and reducing himself to the rank of a private citizen: but their wonder increased, when they heard him offering to take his trial before the people, whom he constituted judges of his conduct. Having divested himself in their presence of his office, and dismissed the lictors who guarded him, he continued to walk for some time in the Forum, unattended and alone. At the approach of evening he retired homewards, the people following him all the way in a kind

A. C. 78. U. C. 676.

astonishment mixed with awe. reat multitude, which he had so d and terrified, none were found h to reproach or accuse him, ex- ing man, who pursued him with ives to his own door. Sylla dis- ring to so mean an adversary; but ose who followed, observed, "That insolence would, for the future, man's laying down an office of such hority."

ult to explain the motives of Sylla's whether they proceeded from vanity, id scheme of policy. Whether, d with the usual adulation which he m the terror of his power, he was s of receiving some for his patriot- ther, dreading assassination, he was isarm vengeance by retiring from rs of an envied situation *. How- y be, he soon retired into the coun- to enjoy the pleasures of tranquil- al happiness, if such a wretch were asting either; but he did not long bdication, dying of a most filthy dis- some and mortifying object to human He was the first of his family whose rnt; for having ordered the remains o be taken out of his grave and the river Anio, he was apprehensive insult upon his own, if left to the

usurpers who had rendered themselves a kind ls, Sylla might possibly expect that the people ily confer on him as a gift the power he made uishing; but if this was his aim, he was dis-

dicularis.

usual

that the senate found it necessary to send Pompey their favourite to his assistance, with the best troops of the empire.

Sertorius, however, maintained his ground against them both, and, after many engagements, in which he generally came off equal, and often superior, he began to meditate the invasion of Italy. But all his schemes were baffled by the treachery of one of his lieutenants, named Perpenna, who had some time before come over to him with the shattered remains of Lepidus's army, and was, at first, an useful assistant. However a jealousy arising between them, Perpenna invited him to a sumptuous entertainment, where having intoxicated, all his attendants, he fell upon Sertorius, and treacherously murdered him. This stroke of barbarity only served to ruin his party, which had been entirely supported by the reputation of the general; for soon after Perpenna, being easily overthrown by Pompey, was taken prisoner, and all the revolted provinces readily submitted. The conqueror is celebrated on this occasion, for an action of great prudence and generosity. Perpenna, in hopes of saving his life, offered to make some important discoveries, and to put into his hands all the papers of Sertorius, in which were several letters to and from the principal senators of Rome. Pompey, however, rejecting his offer, ordered the traitor to be dispatched, and his papers to be burnt without reading them. By these means he eased the people of their fears, and prevented those acts of desperation which the consciousness of discovered guilt might have occasioned. A. C. 73.

Pompey was now the most popular man in Rome,

d it seemed as if Fortune had delight-
ıg him new opportunities of serving
y. Upon his return, he attacked a
/ of slaves, who had escaped after
hrow by Crassus in Italy, and cut
eces. This insurrection, which Pom-
ıe good fortune of thus terminating,
the Servile war, and took its rise from
iators, who broke from their fencing-
Capua, and, having drawn a number
after them, overthrew Glaber the
ıo was sent to suppress them; and
ıuccess, their number soon increased
/ of forty thousand men. With this
ınd headed by Spartacus their general,
ned a vigorous war of three years, in
heart of Italy: they defeated several
ers of consular and prætorian rank,
ɔegan to talk of attacking Rome. But
aving assembled all the forces in the
the capitol, drove them before him
emity of Rhegium, where, the great-
re destroyed; and among them Spar-
ıting bravely to the last, at the head
erate forces. It was the remainder of
ıed band, that Pompey happened to
ı in his passage across the Alps home-
l, as he expressed it to the senate, by
them, he plucked up the war by the
us ended the civil wars, which had been
the ambition of Marius and Sylla, and
for a long period, in which it is impos-
e generous and humane to advocate the
ther party, as both were equally cruel,
nterested, and venal.

ng this gloomy and distracted interval,

all the arts of peace had been cultivated, and had risen to a very high degree of perfection. Plautus and Terence, it is true, had flourished some time before; but Lucretius, the boast of his age, who exceeds as much in poetry as he falls short in philosophy, adorned those ill-fated times, and charmed with the harmony of his versification. Learning, however, was chiefly cultivated among the great; for luxury had not yet sufficiently descended to the meaner ranks, to give them a relish for intellectual enjoyments. It is only under easy circumstances that the refined pleasures of the imagination are indulged: gross sensuality and oppressive indigence are equally inimical to a genuine taste for mental delights.

CHAP. XI.

the Death of Sylla, to the Triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus.

HE turbulence of faction being now appa-
rently composed, it was hoped that the
monwealth would have time to respire from
calamities it had sustained during the civil
licts. But the spirit of ambition had now
red into the state; and Sylla's example
ed the possibility of obtaining sovereign
er. Of those leading men, who, at this period,
opolized the principal favour both of the
te and the people, Pompey and Crassus
the most illustrious. They were both con-
ors, both desirous of power, and both aim-
at it by extending their popularity. Pom-
however, was without an equal for military
tation; while Crassus, knowing his infe-
ty in this respect, took care to amass wealth,
to devote it to the purposes of ambition.
etween these great men, jealousies soon arose,
were fomented by various causes. They both
etly wished to undermine each other; neither
ed with views of freeing his country from
overgrown power of an aspiring citizen,
each with a desire of establishing his own.
he first opportunity that was afforded of dis-
ring their mutual jealousy, was upon the
anding the respective troops, with which
had conquered. Neither chose to begin;

so that the most fatal consequences were likely to arise from their suspicious vigilance: but, at length, Crassus, stifling his resentment, resigned his command; and the other followed his example immediately after. The next trial between them was, who should make the greatest sacrifices to obtain the favour of the people. Crassus entertained the populace at a thousand different tables; distributed corn to the families of the poor, and fed the greatest part of the citizens for near three months. Pompey employed other resources not less effectual;—he laboured to abrogate the laws made against the people's authority by Sylla; he restored the power of judging to the knights, which had been formerly granted them by Gracchus; and gave back to the tribunes of the people all their former privileges. It was thus that each gave his private aims an appearance of patriotism; so that what was in reality ambition in both, assumed the form of liberality in the one, and of a love of freedom in the other.

However, the arts of Pompey seemed, upon this occasion, to give him the superiority. The tribunes, who were restored to all their former dignities, thought they could never sufficiently recompence their benefactor; they only waited for an opportunity of gratifying his highest ambition, and this soon presented itself. A number of pirates, formerly employed by Mithridates, had, by the long continuance of their success in plundering all they met, amassed great wealth, and collected in their body many thousand men of several nations. They made choice of Cilicia for their principal place of resort, and, not content with robbing by sea, ventured

ed even upon conquests by land. Italy itself s not free from their depredations. It was w, therefore, resolved to punish their inso- ice by sending out a fleet capable of utterly nihilating their power. For this pur- se, Gabinius the tribune preferred a A. C. 66. v, that Pompey should be created ad- ral with absolute authority against the U. C. 682. ates for three years; that his power ould extend over the whole Mediterranean sea d its coasts, to a certain distance on land; at he should raise as many soldiers and mari- rs as he should think expedient; and that he ould receive from the public treasury what- er sums of money he thought necessary for rrying on the war with vigour and success. his law, which the senate vainly attempted to pose, conferred on Pompey a power which might have easily converted to the ruin of his untry: but nothing dangerous was to be ared from a man whose actions had hitherto ways testified a love of glory rather than of minion.

Pompey, being thus furnished with absolute wer over the fleet, stationed his lieutenants in e several bays and harbours of the Mediterra- an with so much judgment, that he soon rced the enemy from their ports; while the lmiral himself, at the head of the largest squa- on of his fleet, sailed up and down, visiting id instructing such as he sent upon duty. By ese means, in less than forty days he obliged e enemy to take refuge in Cilicia, the only re- eat that was left them. There he soon followed em, with sixty of his best ships; and though ey had prepared to give him battle, yet, on

sight of such a formidable armament, they re struck with terror, and submitted to the rcy of Pompey. As their numbers amounted above twenty thousand men, he was unwilling to destroy them; and yet to permit their turning to their ancient habitations, was not ife. He therefore removed them to places further distant from the sea, where he assigned hem lands, and thus added new subjects and lominions to the empire of Rome.

The success of this expedition having added greatly to Pompey's fame, the tribunes thought it a favourable moment to advance their partisan still higher; wherefore Manlius, one of the number, preferred a law, that all the armies of the empire, the government of Asia, and the management of the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, should be committed to him alone. A power so great and unlimited awakened all the jealousy of the senate: they considered this a nothing less than proclaiming him sovereign of the empire, and even tempting him to enslave his country. The weight of these reasons, and still more, the authority of the senate, were about to preponderate, and the tribunes seemed hesitating whether they should not withdraw the motion, when Marcus Tullius Cicero rose up ·econd the law, and to pay his tribute of quence to the virtues of Pompey. It was irst time that this orator had ever addressed assembly of the people; but that eloquence have been irresistible then, which to this continues to charm and improve posterity. law in consequence passed with little o tion; the decree was confirmed by all the bunes of the people; and Pompey was

invested with as great power, as Sylla had ed himself into through guilt and crimes. Thus appointed to the command against Mithtes, with almost sovereign power, Pompey mediately departed for Asia, to conduct one f the most important wars that had been hitherto undertaken by the Romans. Mithridates was not an effeminate and a luxurious prince, trembling at the sound of a name; but a mighty king, undaunted in every stage of his fortune, and, like a lion, gaining new courage from every wound. His dominions were, in fact, well situated for supporting a war against an invading enemy. They bordered on the inaccessible mountains of Mount Caucasus, whose savage inhabitants he could bring into the field; they extended thence along the sea of Pontus, which he covered with his ships: besides, he was rich, and continually raising new armies among the Scythians, a people of invincible bravery. The resistance he made against Sylla, and the peace which that general forced him to accept, have already been recorded: this, however, being the effect of compulsion, lasted no longer than while there were forces strong enough to compel him to its observance. Murena, whom Sylla had left behind, attempting to reduce him to obedience, first met with disgrace, and, at last, a total overthrow. Some time after, Mithridates, having procured the alliance of Tigranes, king of Armenia, invaded the kingdom of Bithynia, which had been lately bequeathed to the Romans by Nicomedes, [illegible] of the country. To stop the progress [illegible] conquests, Lucullus, an experienced [illegible] had been sent from Rome, and, upon h[illegible]

agement ensued, in which Mithridates
s whole army; and being obliged to
by sea, was very near falling into the
of the enemy, had he not been taken up
pirate, who landed him safe in his own do-
ns. No way intimidated by these disas-
he soon raised another army, and in the be-
ng gained some advantages over the enemy.
Lucullus having cut off all his internal re-
ces, forced him to take shelter in the court
Tigranes, king of Armenia. The Roman
neral followed him thither also, and demanded
person; but Tigranes, though he had no
rtial attachment to the deposed king, refused
deliver him, because Lucullus had neglected
enumerate all his titles. Pride, it seems, was
he reigning passion of this weak monarch; he
was more desirous of receiving homage than of
procuring power: it was usual with him, to
oblige the kings he had conquered to attend him
as slaves, when he appeared in public; and in
consequence of his successes over the petty states
around him, he had assumed the pompous title
of Monarch of all Monarchies. This appellation
the Roman general disdained to compliment him
with. The war therefore changing its objects,
the generals of Tigranes were at first easily over-
come; and, though he soon after engaged at
the head of two hundred and fifty thousand men,
yet he met with no better fortune. These vic-
tories promised a speedy end to the war, which
had now been protracted for seven years; and,
though the conduct of it once more devolved
upon Mithridates, yet he being pressed as much
as ever, was obliged to take refuge in Lesser
Armenia. Thither Lucullus was preparing to
follow

him, when intelligence arrived that Glaho had been consul for the last year, was ed to displace him in his command, and ually arrived in Asia for that purpose. sgrace it seems was owing to the intrigues e of Lucullus's soldiers, who, harassed etual fatigues, and seduced by factious , had privately sent their complaints to ite; wherefore, upon Glabrio's arrival, ole army abandoned their general; who ot see, without indignation, Mithridates all his power, and recover the whole m of Pontus; while Glabrio, testifying ination to enter upon a troublesome ofntinued an idle spectator of his successes, ose to stop short in Bithynia. This muspirit in the troops of Lucullus, and the elination Glabrio seemed to have of en, gave rise to that general desire which ed, of appointing Pompey to terminate g-protracted war.

re Pompey tried the force of his arms, he it proper to propose terms of accommoto Mithridates; but this monarch, having respired from his great and numerous determined to follow fortune while it l propitious. He had found means to a very considerable army from the wrecks former power, and meditated pursuing mans into Armenia, where he expected off their supplies; but being disappointed , he was obliged to fly, having first killed h as were not able to accompany him in reat: Pompey, however, by great exerovertook him before he could have tim ss the river Euphrates. It was th

nig

, but being compelled to engage, it is said, the moon shining from behind the Roman y, lengthened their shadows so much, that archers of Mithridates shot their arrows at e, mistaking the shadow for the substance. tain it is, that the Asiatic soldiers were unable withstand the force of the European infantry: did all that lay in the power of a great and perienced general, to lead them on to the harge, and to prevent their terrors; but they ould not be brought to endure the shock of the ardy veterans of Pompey. Being thus again overthrown, with the loss of almost all his forces, and finding himself hemmed in on every side by the Romans, he made a desperate effort at the head of eight hundred horse, to break through them; and thus effected his escape, though with the loss of five hundred of his followers in the attempt. He had long been acquainted with distress, but his present situation seemed more deplorable than ever; he continued for several days, sorrowfully wandering through the forest that covered the country, leading his horse his hand, and subsisting on whatever fruits accidentally found in his way. In this forlorn tuation he met with about three thousand of soldiers who had escaped from the general magre, and by their assistance he was conduc to one of the magazines, where he had depos those treasures that were intended to suppor war. He then dispatched messengers to grames for aid; but that monarch was too engaged in suppressing a domestic rebelli be able to send any succours abroad. pointed on that side, still, however, he not despair, but fled to Colchis, a state

ormerly acknowledged his power. Being ed thither also by Pompey, he took another ry journey, crossed the Araxes, marched m danger to danger, through the country of e Lazi, and assembling all the barbarians he et with in his way, induced the Scythian inces to declare against Rome. Stedfast in is enmity, he continued his opposition, even though he found his own family confederating against him. Though betrayed by his son Macharis, and his life attempted by Pharnaces, yet he still aimed at great designs, and, even in the heart of Asia, projected the invasion of the Roman empire; by marching into Europe, and, there being joined by the fierce nations that inhabited Germany and Gaul, to cross the Alps into Italy, as Annibal had done before him.—But his timid Asiatic soldiers were ill-disposed to second the great views of their leader. Upon being apprised of his intentions, a mutiny ensued, which was promoted by his unnatural son Pharnaces.

Thus obliged to take refuge in his palace in order to escape the fury of the army, he sent to his son for leave to depart, offering the free possession of all that remained of his wretched fortunes, and his title to those dominions of which he had been deprived by the Romans. To this the wretch made no direct reply; but turning to the slave that brought him the message, he bade him, with a stern countenance, tell his father, That death was all that now remained for him. Such a horrid instance of filial impiety added new poignancy to the unhappy monarch's affliction; he could not refrain from venting his imprecations, and from wishing that such an

tural child might one day meet with the like ingratitude from his own children. Then leaving his own apartment, where he had been for some time alone, he entered that particularly appropriated to his wives, children, and domestics, where he warned all those to prepare for death, who did not choose to undergo the horrors of a Roman captivity. They all readily consented to die with their monarch, and cheerfully taking the poison, which he had in readiness, expired before him. As for himself, having used his body much to antidotes, the poison had but little effect, whereupon he attempted to dispatch himself with his sword; but that also failing, a Gaulish soldier, whose name was Bitæus, performed this friendly office. Thus died Mithridates, betrayed by his son, and forsaken by an army that seemed terrified at the greatness of his enterprises. His fortune was various, his courage always the same: he had for twenty-five years opposed Rome; and, though he was often betrayed by his captains, his children, and his wives, yet he continually found resources against his enemies in his own mighty mind, and was formidable to the very last.

Meanwhile, Pompey was diligently employed in pursuing his advantages over Tigranes, who had not only to resist the Romans, but his own three sons who had united in rebellion against him. Two of these he had the fortune to overthrow, and put to death; but he was soon after compelled by Pompey to surrender. His remaining son, who had taken refuge in the Roman camp, did all that lay in his power to prevent a reconciliation; but Pompey, reprimanding him

r his disobedience, treated the old king
reat humanity, and restored to him the
st part of his dominions, only depriving
f his conquests, and fining him six thou-
alents, towards defraying the expences of
r. His son continuing still averse to a
and threatening his father's life, was
confined by the general's command, and
d to deck his triumph.

pey now rushed like a torrent, carrying
ore him; he marched over the vast moun-
f Taurus, setting up and deposing kings
pleasure. Darius, king of Media, and
hus, king of Syria, were compelled to
to his clemency; while Phraates, king of
a, was obliged to retire, and send to en-
peace. From thence, extending his con-
over the Thuræans and Arabians, he reduc-
Syria and Pontus into Roman provinces.
turning towards Judea, he summoned
bulus, who had usurped the priesthood
is elder brother Hyrcanus, to appear be-
im; but Aristobulus having fortified the
of Jerusalem against him, refused to an-
This venerable place, thus converted
garrison, being very strong from its situa-
eld out for three months; but was at last
and twelve thousand of its defenders
Pompey entered this great sanctuary with
ure of resolution and fear: he shewed an
curiosity to enter into the Holy of Holies;
he gazed for some time upon those things
it was unlawful for any but the priests
elves to behold. Nevertheless, he shewed
ch veneration for the place, that he fore-
ouching any of the vast treasures deposited

re. After restoring Hyrcanus to the p
od and government, he took Aristobulu
n, to grace his triumph upon his return.
umph, which lasted two days, was the
lendid that had ever entered the gat
ome: in it were exposed the names of
onquered kingdoms, eight hundred cities
wenty-nine re-peopled, and a thousand
brought to acknowledge the empire of R
Among the prisoners led in triumph, app
the son of Tigranes; Aristobulus, kin
Judea; the sister of Mithridates; together
the hostages of the Albanians, Iberians, a
king of Comagena. The treasures that
brought home, amounted to near four mi
of our money; and the trophies and other
dours of the procession were such that the
tators seemed lost in the magnificent prof
All these victories, however, rather serv
heighten the glory than to increase the st
of the power of Rome. The common
was now become too vast to be ruled,
a perfect unity of action. The freedom o
it had been founded seemed daily to
lustre, and anarchy or despotism alter
bear sway. Even while Pompey was
his conquests abroad, Rome was at t
of ruin, from a conspiracy at home.

A. C. 64. This conspiracy was projecte
ried on by Sergius Catiline, a
by birth, who resolved to buil
power on the downfal of his country
singularly formed, both by art and
conduct a conspiracy:—possessed
equal to the most desperate attem
eloquence to give a colour to hi

fortunes, profligate in his manners, in pursuing his aims, he was insa- wealth, only with a view to lavish it pleasures: in short, as Sallust describes was a compound of opposite passions; ate to excess, yet patient of labour to a severe with the virtuous, debauched gay; so that he had all the vicious for is by inclination; and he attached even the good, by his specious display of pre- irtue. However, his real character at ecame conspicuous: he had been accused ching a vestal virgin; he was suspected ering his son, to gratify a criminal pas- id it was notorious, that in the proscrip- Sylla, he had killed his own brother, to s court to that sanguinary tyrant.

ne being plunged into debt, by his expen- ofligacy, resolved to extricate himself by any means, however unlawful: his , therefore, was at the consulship, in e hoped to repair his shattered fortune, lunder of the provinces; but in this he trated. This disgrace operating upon a turally fervid, he instantly entered into iation with Piso and some others, of e fortunes like himself, in which they eed to kill the consuls that had been osen, with several other senators, and e the government among themselves. esigns, however, were discovered before re ripe for action, and the senate took obviate their effects. Some time after, sued for the consulship, and was again nted; the great Cicero being preferred im. Enraged at these repeated mortifi-

.s, he breathed nothing but reven
nished with the means, adequat
on of his nefarious designs.
any of those who were engaged
conspiracy of Piso, still remainin
.is interests, he assembled them, tc
nber of thirty, and laid before the
operation. It was resolved among
general insurrection should be raise
t Italy, the different parts of whic
gned to the different leaders. Ro
e fired in several places at once; an
t the head of an army raised in Et
n the general confuson, to possess
he city, and massacre all the senatc
tulus, one of his profligate assistant
been prætor or judge in the city, was
in their general councils: Cethegus,
sacrificed the posesssions of great pre
to the hopes of gratifying his rever
Cicero, was to direct the massacre
city; and Cassius was to conduct the
it. But the known vigilance of C
chief obstacle to their designs, Cati
desirous to remove him before he
upon which, two of the conspirat
to kill him the next morning in
pretence of an early visit on b
meeting, however, was no sooner
cero had information of all that
the intrigues of a woman, na
gained over Curius, her lover,
conspirators, to furnish him wit
their deliberations. Having ta
cautions to guard himself agair
his morning visitors, who wer

nent, his next care was to provide for the
of the city; and assembling the senate,
ed what was best to be done in this time of
. It was first agreed on to offer considerable
ds for further discoveries, and then to pre-
or the defence of the state. Catiline, with
anted effrontery, went boldly to the senate,
ring his innocence, and offering to give any
rity for his behaviour. These professions,
d with an apparent humility, gained over
ny of the Roman senators; but Cicero, in-
sed at his impudence, instead of pursuing
business of the day, rose up, and addressing
mself to Catiline, broke out into a most severe
vective against him. The speech is still re-
aining, in which, with all the fire of incensed
loquence, he lays oven the whole course of Ca-
iline's crimes, and the particulars of his present
mpeachment.

When Cicero was seated, Catiline rose in his
urn, and, with well-prepared dissimulation, and
dejected countenance, besought the senate not
o credit vain reports concerning him; nor be-
ieve that a person of his rank would be guilty
of such vile imputations. While he was con-
inuing his defence, and beginning to introduce
ome reflections against the consul, the senate
refused to hear him; whereupon he declared
aloud, "That since he was denied the liberty of
'vindicating himself, and driven headlong by
'his enemies, he would extinguish the flame
'that was raised about him, if the consequence
'should prove universal ruin." Thus saying,
he rushed out of the assembly, threatening de-
struction to all his opposers. As soon as he had
returned to his house, and began to reflect on

what had passed, he perceived it vain to dissemble any longer; wherefore resolving to enter at once into action, before the commonwealth was prepared to oppose him, he left Rome by night, with a small retinue, to hasten towards Etruria, where Manlius, one of the conspirators, was raising an army for his support.

Meanwhile, Cicero took proper precautions to secure all the conspirators who remained in Rome; and induced the people, by the power of his eloquence, to second his designs. Lentulus, Cethegus, Cassius, and several others, were put in confinement; and it was propounded to the senate, what course should be taken with the prisoners. Capital punishments were rare, except in civil broils, and even odious in Rome; while, on the other hand, the crimes of which they were convicted, required a quick and exemplary punishment. Silanus, the ensuing year's consul, was of opinion, that they should be put to death. To this, all who spoke after him readily assented, till it came to Julius Cæsar's turn to deliver his opinion. This extraordinary man, who was chosen prætor for the ensuing year, had, from the beginning of his life, chalked out a way to universal empire; and now thought that a show of clemency upon this occasion would conciliate the favour of the people. It is supposed, indeed, by some, that he secretly favoured the conspiracy, and only waited for its first successes, to put himself at its head. He, therefore, observed, in an elegant and elaborate speech, for of all orators in the commonwealth he was inferior to Cicero alone, that those who voted for death, were on the merciful side, since death was but the relief of the miserable, and

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left no sense of good or ill beyond it. The heinousness of the present crime, he said, might justify any severity; but the example was dangerous in a free state, where power sometimes happened to fall into bad hands. Though no danger could be apprehended from such a consul as Cicero, yet, in other times, and under other consuls, none could say how far justice might stop short of cruelty: his opinion, therefore, was, that the conspirators should be sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Cæsar's speech, delivered with all the arts of a complete orator, seemed to make a great impression on the assembly: Silanus began to waver; and even the friends of the consul were almost convinced, when Porcius Cato, at last, stood up to oppose it. No two characters could be more opposite, than his and that of the former speaker. Cæsar was merciful, gentle, and insinuating; Cato severe, impetuous, and overbearing: Cæsar loved his country, in hopes one day to govern it; Cato loved it more than other countries, only because he thought it more free: the one scrupled no means, however illicit, to attain his ends; the other laboured but to one end, and by one way, to reach the most perfect justice by the most inflexible virtue. In short, Cæsar was a follower of Epicurus, and Cato was a rigid stoic.

He began therefore by describing Cicero as he really was;—a man dignified with almost every virtue conducive to private happiness, together with all the talents that could improve public felicity. He proceeded, by expressing his wonder how any debate could arise about punishing men who had actually commenced war upon their country: that he had never pardoned in himself

very wanderings of his heart; and could
easily forgive the most flagitious actions in
bers: that they were not deliberating on the
te of the prisoners only, but on that of Cati-
ne's whole army, which would be animated or
ejected, in proportion to the vigour of their de-
rees: wherefore his opinion was, since the cri-
minals had been convicted both by testimony
and their own confession, that they should suffer
death, according to the custom of their ances-
tors, in circumstances of a similar nature. His
speech was seconded by another, still more
forcible, from Cicero; and these carried such
conviction, that they put an end to the debate.
The vote, for the death of the conspirators, was
no sooner passed, than Cicero resolved to put it
in execution, lest night, which was approaching,
should produce any new disturbance. Lentulus,
Cethegus, and the rest, were therefore taken
from their respective sureties, conducted by the
chief magistrates, and delivered to the execu
tioners, who instantly strangled them.

In the mean time, Catiline had raised an arm
of twelve thousand men; of which a fourth pa
only was completely armed. He refused,
first, to inlist slaves, who flocked to him in gr
numbers; but upon the approach of the cons
who was sent against him, and the arrival
intelligence that his confederates were put
death in Rome, the face of his affairs was
tirely altered. His first attempt, therefore,
by long marches, to make his escape over
Appennines into Gaul; but in this his h
were disappointed, all the passes being st
guarded by an army under Metellus, sup
to his own. Being thus hemmed in on

le, with nothing left him, but either to die or nquer, he resolved to make one vigorous effort efore destiny could decide against him. Antoninus, the consul, being sick, the command devolved upon his lieutenant, Petreius, who after a fierce and bloody action, in which he lost a considerable part of his best troops, killed Catiline and his whole army, which fought desperately to the last man. In a word, they all fell in the very ranks in which they stood when alive; and, as if inspired with the spirit of their leader, fought not so much to conquer, as to sell a bloody victory, and to mingle public calamity with their private ruin. A. C. 62. U. C. 686.

The commonwealth, being thus freed from their apprehensions of danger, unanimously concurred in their applauses of Cicero, whose counsels had been the chief means of preventing the total overthrow of the constitution. Public thanks were decreed him by the senate, and, at the instance of Cato, he was styled the Father of his country; the people, with loud acclamations, confirmed the justice of the decree*.

The extinction of this conspiracy, however, seemed only to leave an open theatre for the ambition of the great men of the state to display itself in. Pompey was now returned in triumph from conquering the East, with numerous laurels added to those he had acquired before.

* The glory of Cicero at this moment appears to have been at its height. Though courage does not seem in general to have been a constitutional quality in him, no person ever could behave with more resolution during the existence of this conspiracy, which required all his brilliant powers to subdue.

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Every eye was fixed upon him, as being the most powerful man in the state, and capable of governing it at his pleasure. His success in war had procured him the surname of Great, and he was still more pleased with the title than the consciousness of deserving it. This was the post his ambition aimed at; he seemed more desirous of being the leader than the ruler of his country; of being applauded than obeyed. He had it often in his power to make himself master of the state by force; but he either declined the risque, or lived in perpetual expectation of receiving as a gift, what he did not choose to extort by violence.

His first object upon his return, was, to direct the election of both the consuls, by whose help he hoped he should readily obtain the ratification of all that he had done in Asia; together with a distribution of lands to his soldiers, from the countries they had conquered. However, he was disappointed in both these expectations, though certainly not unreasonable. The senate, who began to see and dread his power, were desirous of lessening it by every opposition. The consuls likewise opposed him upon all occasions, and were seconded by all those who were not the avowed instruments of his party. The tribune, Flavius, who was the promoter of the proposed law, impatient of the delay, and animated by Pompey's power, had the hardiness to commit Metellus the consul to prison; and when all the senate followed and resolved to go to prison with him, the tribune placed his chair against the door, to prevent them. This violence, however, gave such offence to the people, that Pompey found it advisable to draw off the tribune,

bune, and release the consul. Such unexpected opposition in the senate convinced him that his own interest alone would not be sufficient to rule the commonwealth, without including some of the most powerful men of the state, not as partners to divide his power, but as instruments to assist it.

Crassus, the richest man in Rome, was, next to Pompey, possessed of the greatest authority: his party in the senate was even stronger than than that of his rival, and the envy raised against him was less. He and Pompey had been long disunited by an opposition of interests, and of characters; however, it was from a continuance of their mutual jealousies, that the state could expect its future safety. It was in this situation of things, that Julius Cæsar, who had lately gone prætor into Spain, and had returned with great riches and glory, resolved to convert the two rivals to his own advantage. This celebrated man was nephew to Marius, by the female line, and descended from one of the most illustrious families in Rome: he had already mounted to eminence by the regular gradations of office; having been quæstor, ædile, and grand pontiff, and prætor in Spain. Being descended from popular ancestors, he warmly espoused the side of the people, and shortly after the death of Sylla procured those whom he had banished to be recalled. He had constantly declared for the populace against the senate, and consequently became their favourite magistrate. His services in Spain had deserved a triumph, and his ambition aspired to the consulship. However, it was contrary to law for him to enjoy both; for to obtain the consulship, he must come into the city, and by entering the city, he was disquali-

ferred solid power to empty parade, and determined to stand for the consulship; at the same time, resolving to attach the two most powerful men in the state to him, by effecting their reconciliation. He accordingly began by offering his services to Pompey, promising to use his influence in favour of the objects he wished to accomplish, notwithstanding the senate's opposition. Pompey, pleased with the acquisition of a person of so much merit, readily granted him his confidence and protection. He next applied to Crassus, who, from former connections, was disposed to join in the closest bonds of amity: at length, finding neither averse to an union of interests, he took an opportunity of bringing them together; and, remonstrating to them on the advantage, as well as the necessity, of a reconciliation, had art enough to persuade them to forget past animosities. A combination was thus formed, by which they agreed, that nothing should be done in the commonwealth, but what received their mutual concurrence and approbation. This obtained the appellation of the First Triumvirate, by which the constitution was subjected to a new interest, very different from that of the senate or the people, and yet dependent on both. A power like this, however, as it depended upon the nice equilibrium of jarring elements, could not be of long continuance; and, in fact, it only paved the way to that military despotism, which soon usurped every function of government, and destroyed even the shadow of Roman liberty. This, indeed, constitutes a memorable epoch in the history of Rome; and forms a natural division of our subject.

A. C. 60. U. C. 688.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

T. Davison, White-friars.

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